

Pastoral Care as a Constant Power Struggle: A Case Study – The Garden of Hope in Taiwan

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DECLARATION

I HEREBY DECLARE THAT THIS THESIS HAS BEEN COMPOSED ENTIRELY BY MYSELF, HSIU-YU LI, AND THAT IT HAS NOT BEEN ACCPETED IN MY PREVIOUS APPLICATION FOR A DEGREE.

Signed: _____
Hsiu-Yu Li

Date: Mar. 8, 2006

**To those who are under the oppressive powers and those who stand
out for them to be against those powers**

Declaration

I hereby declare that this thesis has been composed entirely by myself, Hsiu-Yu Li, and that it has not been accepted in my previous application for a degree.

Hsiu-Yu Li

Date:_____

Abstract

This thesis is to propose a pastoral theology through the examination of pastoral care in the social context of contemporary Taiwan. It focuses on the pastoral care provided by the Garden of Hope, an institution founded in 1988 for the rescue and rehabilitation of Taiwanese child and teenage girl prostitutes. The work of the Garden of Hope is examined from the analytical stance that recognises the impact of various issues of power in relation to the situation of girl prostitutes.

The central argument of the thesis is that issues of power are integral to the understanding of what brings young Taiwanese girls to prostitution, to their mistreatment under existing ideologies, laws and systems of control in Taiwan and even to their being cared by the pastoral care provider; and that issues of power therefore need to be constantly engaged to provide a pastoral care that will be effective to rehabilitate girl prostitutes. It is in this sense that pastoral care is defined in this thesis as “a constant power struggle”.

The research has been conducted in the field of pastoral theology, this being understood as a part of practical theology in the sense that practice precedes theory, and sociology informs theology. The research has therefore employed an empirical methodology of listening to the experience of local people – in this case the staff of the Garden of Hope, government officers, the girl prostitutes and their families – and integrating the findings of empirical research with theological and sociological theories derived from relevant literatures.

The research is contextual in that it is set in the society and culture of contemporary Taiwan. The status of women, cultural attitudes toward girl prostitutes, the subjectivity of young Taiwanese people in a time of rapid economic growth, the contextual theology of the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan (PCT), and government laws are all explored in terms of the challenges that they represent for an effective pastoral care of girl prostitutes in Taiwan.

The argument of the thesis develops through five chapters. Chapter One examines the development of pastoral care in Western society as the root of pastoral care in Taiwan as illustrated in the PCT. Chapter Two introduces sociological understandings of power, and demonstrates how these are helpful in interpreting the actual practice of social life in Taiwan and even in Biblical times. Chapters Three and Four focus on the case study of the Garden of Hope: Chapter Three discusses the problems of girl prostitution in Taiwan that the GOH has been dealing with since its creation in 1986; and Chapter Four examines the ways in which the GOH deals with issues of power related to the rehabilitation of the girl prostitutes who live in its half-way homes. Chapter Five seeks to integrate the findings of the previous chapters in a contextual understanding of pastoral care that demonstrates that power relationships are an integral part of pastoral care, and that pastoral care providers need to be able to recognise and struggle with these power issues if their care provision is to be effective.

In these terms the thesis offers an original insight into the nature and practice of pastoral care, particularly with reference to the challenges that the church in Taiwan faces in providing pastoral care for people in society at large.

Acknowledgement

There is a Chinese proverb saying, “The success of a general is built upon piles of dried bones.” Applying this proverb to the completion of my Ph.D. studies, we may say that “the attainment of a Ph.D. degree is built upon many emptied wallets and many exhausted spirits.” To study at Britain as an international student, I can say without exaggeration that every word in this thesis is built upon a British pound and a minute of time. First of all, I need to thank those whose wallets, energy and time have been emptied by me. Without their generous support in finance and in time, or their readiness to help, it would be impossible for me to study at New College, Edinburgh University in the first place. Among these people are Daniel, the President of the Holy Light, Elder Sao, the staff of the Garden of Hope in Taiwan and Edward, Kinlouie, William and Andrew in Britain.

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Introduction

I. Purpose of this Thesis:

This thesis, entitled “Pastoral Care as a Constant Power Struggle: a Case Study - the Garden of Hope in Taiwan”, seeks to explore the challenge of developing a pastoral theology in the context of Taiwan that enables care providers to identify and engage the powers with which care receivers have to struggle, and against which they need to be empowered, as part of the rehabilitation process. Setting this exploration in a particular case study – the Garden of Hope that was founded in 1988 to provide care and rehabilitation for child and teenage girl prostitutes – the research will examine the relationship between pastoral care and social, ideological and relational power in ways that draw on the fields of theology and sociology, and respond to the realities of the contextual situation in Taiwan.

In this context pastoral theology seeks to articulate, in thought and practice, ways in which the teaching from the tradition of Christian faith offers a framework for providing care to all God’s people, irrespective of race, ethnicity, gender, religion, or geographical location, enabling them to realize what God wants them to be. Care is here understood as the means of engendering wholeness, in terms of healing wounds, resisting oppression, and restoring recipients of care to a position in which they can enter into relationships of power in which they retain their subjective will.

Furthermore, also in this context power is understood as something which changes, redirect or controls a person’s thought, word and deed. This power can be brought to bear through a number of media such as government and civil law, social and moral ideologies, institutional and individual subjective decision making, systems of reward and punishment, and the objectification of women. In the case study to be examined in this thesis, power is therefore understood as the complex interaction of these five agents on the lives of girl and teenage prostitutes in the care of the Garden of Hope.

Therefore, the aim of this thesis is to propose a pastoral theology that engages these two dimensions: “care” as that which the teaching in the tradition of Christian faith extends to all people who, as equals in the sight of God, are equally loved by God, irrespective of who they are; and “power” as that connotes the existence of a force that can be dispositional, episodic, or phenomenal according to its context and is

functioning through agents in a social system, structure or relationship which is its territory or domain. Such an inclusive definition of power has both positive and negative functions. Power, as far as this thesis concerned, in its negative exercise is as the sanctions that bear upon people's lives, treating them as objects of domination rather than subjects of mutually respecting relationships and in its positive exercise is as the means to reach an effective provision of pastoral care.

In the struggle of care with power, the pastoral theology of a pastoral care provider seeks to unmask the dehumanizing power and resist it and also direct the humanizing power within the people and hence it becomes a means of care. While the thesis does not seek to provide a solution to the problems encountered in the sphere of girl prostitution, it argues that the care provider must engage with the realities of power.

II. The Methodology of the Research of this Thesis

The methodology that has been adopted in the research for this thesis follows Fabella's definition of pastoral theology. According to Fabella's definition of pastoral theology in third world contexts, it needs to have two perspectives: (1) theological reflection from the tradition of faith to which the care provider belongs, and (2) caring practice that is situated in real life situations, from which theological reflection arises as practice interrogates and informs theory.¹ Neither of these perspectives can be borrowed from different contexts; each arises within specific local circumstances, and will reflect ongoing interaction between practice and theory, between sociology and theology. It is the interactive dynamic of these two perspectives that give Fabella's definition of pastoral theology its contextual character, reminding us that pastoral theology is always in process of formation and reformation.

Therefore, the methodology begins with analysis of received theoretical understandings of the two conceptual elements that underlie the research: firstly, the understanding of pastoral theology itself, as originated and developed in its Western expressions, and in the more recent pastoral teaching of the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan (PCT); and secondly, the understanding of power as a social dynamic that inheres all human relationships, both individually and collectively, and which can be discerned in the Bible as clearly as in contemporary Taiwanese society. In accordance

¹ For the whole discussion of Fabella's definition, please reference Chapter I-2 regarding the methodology of this thesis.

with Fabella's definition, these theoretical perspectives need to be balanced by the empirical evidence of caring practice in a given context(s) of life.

The thesis therefore moves on to examine a particular case study: that of the Garden of Hope that provides care for child and teenage prostitutes in various Taiwanese cities. Founded in 1988, this organization belongs to the Protestant Christian tradition of faith, and adheres constitutionally to the teaching of Jesus Christ, but is non-denomination in its membership, and open to people of all faiths or none in terms both of care providers (staff) and care receivers (clients)². The thesis is not intended to offer a history of the Garden of Hope, but seeks to analyze its policies, programmes and activities for the rehabilitation of the girl prostitutes in Taiwan from the perspective of power as defined in the previous section of this Introduction: government and civil law, social and moral ideologies, institutional and subjective relationships, systems of reward and punishment, and the objectification of women. From this analysis the thesis moves to a reflective conclusion in which the researcher seeks to integrate the sociological and theological findings of the case study in a contextual understanding of pastoral theology in Taiwan. This in turn will enable the thesis to conclude with an interrogation of the received theories of pastoral theology from which the inquiry began, the purpose being to bring a new perspective to our global understanding of pastoral theology, and the challenge of caring for all God's people.

III. Related Research Questions to Be Pursued, and Hypotheses to Be Tested

There are several reasons for the selection of the case study around which the research for this thesis has been undertaken. The Garden of Hope is the first institution of its kind in Taiwan to extend pastoral care to child and teenage prostitutes, as distinct from adult prostitutes. Before its creation, child prostitutes were dealt with indiscriminately from adult prostitutes, and their special problems – e.g. that they are under parental care, that they are not yet physically or psychologically mature, and that they need education – tended to be ignored. The Garden of Hope innovated a ministry of caring for child and teenage prostitutes (girl prostitutes) as a special group that calls for specialized knowledge and processes of care. A special feature of the Garden of Hope has been the creation of halfway homes

² However, the GOH does now insist that the executive of each department must be Christian. This policy was in place by the time I visited GOH in 2003.

that provide continuing residential care for the child and teenage prostitutes, making it possible for care providers to accompany the care receivers in their long journey toward recovery from past wounds and rehabilitation to new life in society.

The researcher has only had a brief period of direct involvement with the Garden of Hope as a volunteer, but has known it well over several years through personal friendships and the volunteer support provided by many members of her own church congregation. This experience confirms the national reputation that the Garden of Hope has earned as a leading care provider in a controversial field where issues of power and powerlessness are ignored for social and political reasons, even though they are very evident. From the point of view of this thesis, the Garden of Hope provides an excellent example of innovative caring activity that represents contextual realities in Taiwan, and offers insights into pastoral care that can inform a global understanding of its relevance to issues of power.

Against this background several research questions arise:

- (1) What is the received understanding of pastoral theology, and its relationship with pastoral care, that informs the preparation of Christian care providers in Taiwan?
- (2) What is the meaning of power in sociological analysis, and what relevance does it have to the understanding of pastoral theology, and the exercise of pastoral care?
- (3) What are the power issues that emerge from a critical analysis of the policies, programmes and activities of the Garden of Hope in relation to the rehabilitation of girl prostitutes in Taiwan?
- (4) How do issues of power affect the relationship between care providers and care receivers in the Garden of Hope?
- (5) What does the practice of care giving/receiving in the Garden of Hope tell us about the relationship of power and pastoral care in Taiwan, and what new perspectives does this offer in a global understandings of pastoral care?

The hypothesis that arises from these questions can be stated as follows: that pastoral care, as evidenced in the case study of the Garden of Hope in Taiwan, needs to recognize the interaction of issues of power and the provision of care, so that dehumanizing power can be unmasked and humanizing power directed in an effective provision of pastoral care.

IV. Chapter Structure of this Thesis.

In light of the foregoing rationale of the thesis, and identification of the research questions and hypotheses, we structure presentation of the research in the following chapters.

Chapter One is designed to answer the research question: What is the received understanding of pastoral theology, and its relationship with pastoral care, that informs the preparation of Christian care providers in Taiwan?

- The chapter reviews the development of pastoral theology in the West, noting its evolution from individual counselling to a wider concern for social relationships as a whole, within the collective society rather than narrowly within the church, and a wide range of social issues rather than simply providing church-related services. It is shown that this provides the framework for pastoral theology in Taiwan, arguing that Taiwanese pastoral theology is largely derivative, and is only now in process of discovering its own contextual identity. On the basis of Fabella's definition of pastoral theology in third world contexts (see above), the chapter argues that every culture has valid contributions to make to pastoral theology, in support of which the chapter examines the pastoral theology of the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan (PCT) as an example of the interaction of theology and practice in a specific context.

Chapter Two introduced the main theme that the thesis is intended to explore: what relevance does power, as sociologically analyzed, have to do with pastoral theology, and the exercise of pastoral care?

- The chapter begins with an examination of sociological theories of power that are helpful in identifying ways in which power affects human relationships, and proceeds to apply these to the life situation in Taiwan in an analysis of governmental and civil authorities, social and moral ideologies, institutional and subjective relationships, systems of reward and punishment, and the objectification of women. In conclusion the chapter offers a Biblical reflection on these issues of power, as the basis of a contextual pastoral theology.

Chapters Three and Four shift from the discussion of theory and theology to the practice of pastoral care in the case study of the Garden of Hope. The chapters seek

to answer the questions: what are the power issues that emerge from a critical analysis of the policies, programmes and activities of the Garden of Hope in relation to the rehabilitation of girl prostitutes in Taiwan? How do issues of power affect the relationship between care providers and care receivers?

- Chapter Three focuses on the causes that result in young girls becoming prostitutes in Taiwan, and explores how the prostitutes suffer the negative effects of power as exercised through government institutions and social ideologies, and through their subjective perceptions and choices. The Garden of Hope is then analyzed as a pastoral care provider in this situation, and is interrogated in terms of its response to these issues of power in the lives of its care receivers – i.e. the girl prostitutes.

- Chapter Four turns to the Garden of Hope's provision of rehabilitation in the half-way homes that it operates in several Taiwanese cities. The chapter examines the caring activities that are provided for the girls in response to their past wounds and need for rehabilitation. These include the creation of a home-like situation in which training and disciplining can take place in ways that empower the girls to live independently, and to resist the abuse of power in the many forms that have oppressed them in the past. The analysis will also demonstrate that power is an issue among care providers themselves, and between the care providers and care receivers.

Chapter Five seeks to integrate the findings of the theoretical and practical perspectives discussed in the previous chapters, answering the question: What does the practice of care giving/receiving in the Garden of Hope tell us about the relationship of power and pastoral care in Taiwan, and what new perspectives does this offer in a global understandings of pastoral care?

- It will be demonstrated that the originality of this research exists in the combination of the three perspectives that have been explored: (1) the importance of sociology as a resource for theology, enabling pastoral theologians to ground their theological reflection in empirical reality; (2) application of this relationship between sociology and theology to the context of Taiwan as a specific example of developing pastoral theology; (3) the illustration of this relationship in the analysis of the Garden of Hope care provision for girl prostitutes. It will be concluded that the case study of

the Garden of Hope offers a positive example of what Professor Forrester has termed “caring with power”.³

V. The Originality or the Value of this Research

This thesis will cover vast areas of study: pastoral theology in the field of practical theology, issues of power struggle in human relationship and sociological studies, problems of women and girl prostitution. The scope of these fields is curtailed by limiting the research to the case of Taiwan. In each field described above, there have been immense works done by the scholars,⁴ but the combination of all of them, namely, to examine how pastoral care provider’s caring activities relevant to the powers in the girl prostitutes’ relationship and in their long journey toward recovery in the life context of Taiwan, is believed to be a new form of expression and practice for a pastoral theology and therefore is original. In believing that every culture can contribute insights for the articulation of the message of God, such an attempt is, as Dyson states, “to wrest pastoral theology from servitude to alien norms, and venture new forms of expression and practice”.⁵ This thesis is to explore the role of power in human relationships and how it relates to the provision of pastoral care for their clients. Furthermore, hopefully the result of the exploration in this thesis can provide some guidance for the pastoral carers in their dealing with power in their relationship with their clients as shown in the pastoral theology we propose in this thesis: To care for people in the collective domain the carer needs to intervene into the power struggles that their clients have in their relationships. By providing powers of resistance the care provider can either confront the oppressing power directly or empower the client to resist the oppression power themselves.

VI. A Brief Literature Survey in Each Relevant Field of the Research

With the purpose described above, the literature surveyed for this thesis relates to the following fields of the studies: (1) pastoral care and pastoral theology, (2) issues of power from the sociological studies, (3) the rehabilitation of the girl prostitutes, and (4) the methodology adopted should be suitable for the context in the third world.

³ Duncan Forrester, *Truthful Action* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 2000), p. 79.

⁴ Regarding the literatures done in each field, please reference the individual related chapters of this thesis: “pastoral theology” in chapter I, “power” in chapter II, “women trafficking and commercial sexual transaction” in chapter III.

⁵ A. O. Dyson, “Pastoral Theology” in Alistair V. Campbell, (ed.), *A Dictionary of Pastoral Care* (London: SPCK, 1987), pp. 201-203, p. 202.

Along the historical development of the pastoral theology, in the past many have tried explore the part of pastoral care dealing with the caring of abused women and children such as Bass Ellen's *The Courage to Heal: A Guide for Women Survivors of Child Sexual Abuse*,⁶ and Zetta Bear edited *Good Practice in Counselling People who Have been Abused*. There are also many who examine pastoral care in terms of counselling such as Seward Hiltner's *Pastoral Counselling*, and Lynch Gorden's edited collection *Clinical Counselling in Pastoral Settings*.⁷

Only in recent decades has the study of pastoral theology advanced to wider concerns for people in society, as represented by studies such as Paul Goodliff's *Care in a Confused Climate: Pastoral Care and Postmodern Culture*, Elaine Graham's *Transforming Practice: Pastoral Theology in an Age of Uncertainty*, Neville Clark's *Pastoral Care in Context: An Essay in Pastoral Theology* (Bury St. Edmunds: Kevin Mayhew, 1992), and Colin Gunton's "The Church on Earth: The Roots of Community" in *On Being the Church: Essays on the Christian Community*.⁸ From the published works we understand that the pastoral care provider's concern has extended out of the confines of the church into the society and from concern with the individual to issues of more global scope.

As for issues of power in human relationships, Poling has written *The Abuse of Power: A Theological Problem* and *Deliver Us from the Evil*,⁹ Martin Percy has an extensive discussion on the relationship of power and its relationship with Christians' life in the church in *Power and the Church*,¹⁰ and Wink's four volumes of books on

⁶ Ellen Bass, *The Courage to Heal: A Guide for Women Survivors of Child Sexual Abuse* (London: Vermilion, 2002); Zetta Bear, (ed.), *Good Practice in Counselling People who Have been Abused* (London: Jessica Kingsley, 1998).

⁷ Seward Hiltner, *Pastoral Counselling* (New York and Nashville: Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, 1949). Lynch Gorden, (ed.), *Clinical Counselling in Pastoral Settings* (London: Routledge, 1999). There are for sure tremendous publishing in this field. Here we can only list some, for further references, please see the bibliography of this thesis.

⁸ Paul Goodliff, *Care in a Confused Climate: Pastoral Care and Postmodern Culture* (London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1998); Elaine Graham, *Transforming Practice: Pastoral Theology in an Age of Uncertainty* (London: Mowbray, 1996); Neville Clark, *Pastoral Care in Context: An Essay in Pastoral Theology* (Bury St. Edmunds: Kevin Mayhew, 1992); Colin Gunton, "The Church on Earth: The Roots of Community" in Colin Gunton and Daniel Hardy, (eds), *On Being the Church: Essays on the Christian Community* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1989).

⁹ James Newton Poling, *The Abuse of Power: A Theological Problem* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1991), Poling in fact wrote this work with his discussion more in terms of practical theology and his another work, *Deliver Us from Evil* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1996), from the perspective of resisting racial and gender oppression.

¹⁰ Martyn Percy, *Power and the Church* (London and Washington: Cassell, 1998).

the exploration of power, *Engaging the Powers: Discernment and Resistance in a World of Domination*, *The Powers That Be: Theology for a New Millennium*, *Naming the Powers: The Language of Power in the New Testament* and *Unmasking the Powers: The Invisible Forces that Determine Human Existence*.¹¹ However, these scholars do not devote too much space to discuss power from the sociological perspectives, even less from the third world context.

On the other hand, issues of power have been much discussed, in particular after the addressing of Weber and Foucault. Weber in his work on the relationship between economy and society mentioned the types of authority¹² while Foucault the function of powers that contribute to the formation of ideologies, the value systems of the self and the governmentality in the society as a whole.¹³ After Foucault's enlightening, the works done along with the topic he has addressed are immense; again, we can only list some of them in this introduction such as Mark Bevir's "*Foucault and Critique: Deploying Agency against Autonomy*", Claire Valier, "*Criminal Detection and the Weight of the Past: Critical notes on Foucault, Subjectivity and Preventative Control*" and Patrick Fitzsimons' "Michel Foucault: Regimes of Punishment and the Question of Liberty."¹⁴

Regarding the commercial sexual transaction or prostitution, in recent years this topic has gained a global concern and the works done in this field have been flourishing; such as Musa Khan Jalalzai's "Trafficking of Women and Prostitution in Asia" in *Women Trafficking and Prostitution in Pakistan and Afghanistan* (Lahore:

¹¹ Walter Wink, *Engaging the Powers: Discernment and Resistance in a World of Domination* (Minneapolis: Augsburg Fortress, 1992), *The Powers That Be: Theology for a New Millennium* (New York: Doubleday, 1998), *Naming the Powers: The Language of Power in the New Testament* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1984), and *Unmasking the Powers: The Invisible Forces that Determine Human Existence* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1986).

¹² Max Weber, *Economy and Society* (vol. 1 and 2) (New York: Bedminster Press, 1968), *The Sociology of Religion* (London: Methuen, 1965), *The Theory of Social and Economic Organization* (New York: Free Press, 1947), and *The Sociology of Religion* (London: Methuen, 1965).

¹³ Michel Foucault has addressed powers from many different perspectives in human society, with regard to his works on issues of power, please reference bibliography of this thesis and chapter II when we particularly discuss on issues of power from sociological perspectives. Here we only list some of his works. Regarding Foucault's works, Gordon has collected many of Foucault's essential works in Colin Gordon (ed.), *Power/Knowledge* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1980), and James D. Faubion, (ed.), *Power: Essential Works of Foucault 1954-1984* (London: Penguin books, 2000).

¹⁴ Mark Bevir, "Foucault and Critique: Deploying Agency against Autonomy", *Political Theory*. vol. 27, no. 1 (London: SAGE, Feb., 1999), pp. 65-84, and Claire Valier, "Criminal Detection and the Weight of the Past: Critical notes on Foucault, Subjectivity and Preventative Control", *Theoretical Criminology*. vol. 5 (4) (London: SAGE, 2001), 425-443; Patrick Fitzsimons, "Michel Foucault: Regimes of Punishment and the Question of Liberty", *International Journal of the Sociology of Law* (1999), 27, 379-399, p. 380.

Dua Publication, 2002),¹⁵ and Helen J Self's *Prostitution, Women and Misuse of the Law: The Fallen Daughters of Eve*.¹⁶

After the above exploration, in the conclusion of this thesis we expect to claim a pastoral theology which has the combination of four elements: (1) having both perspectives of pastoral care and theological reflection, (2) relating to sociological studies on issues of power, (3) demonstrated by the interaction between Garden of Hope, the pastoral care provider, and girl prostitutes, the care receiver, (4) in the life context of Taiwan: "Pastoral care as a constant power struggle in the context of Taiwan." *In providing pastoral care a pastoral care provider needs to deal with the power issues that their clients face in their lives. To care for people in the collective domain of Taiwan the carer is to intervene as a third party into the power struggles that their clients have in their relationships; power struggle in the sense that to provide powers of resistance either to confront the oppressing power directly or to empower the client to resist the oppression power by themselves.*

However, the limitation of this thesis is that such a conclusion along with the characteristics we have explored in the final chapter will need to be verified and modified by other scholars' further research and by using cases of various pastoral care providers and care receivers from different geographical contexts.

¹⁵ Jalalzai, Musa Khan, "Trafficking of Women and Prostitution in Asia" in *Women Trafficking and Prostitution in Pakistan and Afghanistan* (Lahore: Dua Publication, 2002).

¹⁶ Self, Helen J, *Prostitution, Women and Misuse of the Law: The Fallen Daughters of Eve* (London; Portland, OR: Frank Cass, 2003).

Chapter I. Pastoral Theology and Pastoral Care: Definition, History and Methodology

Introduction

Pastoral theology is still a difficult term to define.¹ The difficulties rest on its disciplines much relating to practical theology or ecclesiology.² Therefore, pastoral theology has tended to start from various interests: Pattison from the perspective of illness and healing,³ Francis and Faulkner from caring for people of all ages,⁴ Gentles from caring for the dying and the bereaved,⁵ Kesler and Oden from the theme of being a minister,⁶ Woodcliff from the influences of postmodern culture,⁷ and Lyall the perspective of spirituality and the integrity of pastoral care.⁸

In 1972 Shoki Coe proposed the principle of contextualization as the starting point for doing theology.⁹ Since then the development of contextualisation has been an important theological trend.¹⁰ Nevertheless little pastoral theology was done in a non-western context. Though among various views on pastoral theology, some do think of pastoral theology as a critical reflection on the church's multiple missions in

¹ This point will be discussed further in section I-1, but see

D. Tidball, "Pastoral Theology" in Sinclair B. Ferguson (eds.), *New Dictionary of Theology* (Leicester, England: Intervarsity, 1988), pp. 493-494, and "Pastoral Theology" in Gerald O'Collins and Edward G. Farrugia, (eds.), *A Concise Dictionary of Theology* (London: Harper Collins Publishers, 1991), pp. 173-174.

² According to Tidball, practical theology has to do with ministry skills such as worship, homiletics, missions and administration. Ecclesiology in its broadest sense includes the doctrines of the Church and contemporary understanding of the church's role and mission. D. Tidball, "Pastoral Theology" in *New Dictionary of Theology*, pp. 493-494.

³ Stephen Pattison, *Alive and Kicking: Towards a Practical Theology of Illness and Healing* (London: SCM, 1989).

⁴ Leslie J. Francis and Anne Faulkner (eds.), *All God's People: Working with All Ages* (Leominster: Grace Wing, 1997).

⁵ Ian Gentles, *Care for the Dying and the Bereaved* (Toronto: Anglican Book Centre, 1982).

⁶ Thomas C. Oden, *Becoming a Minister* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Baker Books, 1994); Jay Kesler, *Being Holy, Being Human: Dealing With the Expectations of Ministry* (Texas: Word Books, 1988).

⁷ Paul Goodliff, *Care in a Confused Climate: Pastoral Care and Postmodern Culture* (London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1998).

⁸ David Lyall, *Integrity of Pastoral Care* (London: SPCK, 2001) and *Counselling in the Pastoral and Spiritual Context* (Buckingham: Open University Press, 1995). See also Ellen T. Charry, *By the Renewing of Your Minds: The Pastoral Function of Christian Doctrine* (Oxford: Oxford University, 1997); Lynn N. Rhodes, *Co-creating: A Feminist Vision of Ministry* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1987).

⁹ Shoki Coe, "Contextualization as the Way Toward Reform" in Douglas J. Elwood (ed.), *Asian Christian Theology: Emerging Themes* (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1980), p. 51.

¹⁰ Virginia Fabella and R. S. Sugirtharajah (eds.), *Dictionary of Third World Theologies* (New York: Orbis Books, 2000), pp. 58-59.

the world -- including the individual needs of church members and the collective needs of the society-few deal with the subject from a collective perspective.¹¹

The purpose of this thesis is to explore a non-western pastoral theology from a collective perspective; specifically how Christians in pastoral care deal with issues of power in their relationships.¹² Therefore, in the first part of this thesis, chapter I, we first want to explore the historical root of the pastoral theology in Taiwan, namely the development of pastoral theology in western society and the pastoral theology of the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan after the Second World War.¹³

Pastoral theology in a western context has gone through a series of changes in its foci such as from focus on the liturgy of the worship in the church to the care of the individual through counselling skill. As for the pastoral theology in Taiwan, demonstrated by the pastoral theology of the Presbyterian Churches in Taiwan, other than the influence from western society, it has to interact with its own macro social cultural factors. Since the end of the Second World War, Taiwan has gone through radical political, economic and social changes. In such a dynamic society, how did local Christians,¹⁴ namely, the Presbyterian Churches in Taiwan, cope with these changes? What kind of pastoral theology did they embrace to sustain the practice of their Christian faith? What did Christians perceive as their mission in the world and according to what principles did they pursue them? Did they focus on individual or collective needs? Furthermore, did the different stages in their history and the changed social circumstances influence the practice of their pastoral theology in the world? And if there has been any adjustment, according to what criteria was this

¹¹ Though many authors have raised their concerns with the theme of the collective needs in their books: such as Lyall talks about liberation theology and pastoral care in *Integrity of Pastoral Care*, pp. 38-43; Goodliff, *Care in a Confused Climate: Pastoral Care and Postmodern Culture*, Don Browning, "Pastoral Theology in a Pluralistic Age" in James Woodward and Stephen Pattison (eds.), *The Blackwell Reader in Pastoral and Practical Theology* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2000), pp. 89-103, and Michael Northcott, "Practical Theology and Sociology" in *The Blackwell Reader in Pastoral and Practical Theology*, pp. 151-163.

¹² There are multiple facets for the definition of power, which will be examined more closely in chapter II of this thesis.

¹³ The PCT's pastoral theology has a great influence on the pastoral caring of the Garden of Hope, the major case study of this thesis. Therefore we need to trace the development of the PCT's pastoral theology and their caring activities for Taiwanese people. We will have a further exploration in chapter III and IV of this thesis.

¹⁴ The Presbyterian Churches are claimed as "local Taiwanese Christians" here because, other than mountain tribe people, their services are conducted in Taiwanese, and almost more than 90 percent of their participants are Taiwanese speaker. Most of the Mandarin speakers did not come until Chiang Kai-shek's army evacuated from China after the end of the Second World War (Please reference I-3 of this thesis).

adjustment made? These questions will be answered in the first part of this thesis.

To answer these questions the theological roots of pastoral theology of the Presbyterian Church, the biggest denomination in Taiwan after 1945, will be studied. This exploration is to show how pastoral theology can be applied in the context of Taiwan,¹⁵ using the Presbyterian Church as an illustration. After the definition of the pastoral theology for the third world has been explored (I-1 to I-3), and how this relates to the particular case of the Presbyterian Churches in Taiwan, the influence of a Christians' pastoral theology on the practice of their faith, such as the caring activities of their pastoral care, can be understood. In this section, the discussion will be divided into three parts: (1) the social context of the time (2) the caring activities of the PCT for their neighbours, namely people in the society of Taiwan, and (3) a critical analysis and assessment of how caring activities are affected by the social context.

¹⁵ Presbyterian Churches in Taiwan used to be the biggest denomination in Taiwan for nearly half a century. It is not until near the end of this century, a small charismatic church, Lin Liang Tang, grow up very rapidly and almost take over the place that the Presbyterian Churches used to have in Taiwan. Now it is hard to say which one among the two is the biggest denomination in Taiwan.

I-1. The Development of Pastoral Theology in the Western Context

Pastoral Theology developed in a western context is the theological root for Taiwanese pastoral theology. It is therefore worthwhile to trace how such pastoral theology is defined and developed in the beginning of this thesis before discussing pastoral theology in Taiwan's context.

"Pastoral theology", A. O. Dyson has defined as, "The theological study of the church's action in its own life and towards society, in response to the activity of God." However, this definition is broad and is also conceptually "unstable"¹⁶ in that it reflects a variety of traditions of the church, theological disciplines and influences from society.

Since the late eighteenth century, there has emerged a need for pastoral theology as a separate discipline to provide a systematic and comprehensive understanding of ministry from the perspectives of contemporary science and philosophy. It was achieved at the church as a collective institution rather than the people of God. But it tended to become only, according to D. Tidball, "practitioners' handbooks" rather than works of theological depth.¹⁷ The books published in the field were mainly practical guides for ministers to perform their pastoral tasks, such as Michael Hocking's *Handbook of Pastoral Work* and Peter Liddell's *A Handbook of Pastoral Counselling*.¹⁸

In the Twentieth century, S. Hiltner (b. 1909) in his book, *Preface to Pastoral Theology*, focused on the healing, sustaining and guiding of the individual.¹⁹ In doing so, he criticised traditional pastoral theology as lacking psychological, social and cultural perspectives. He stressed the bond between pastoral training and psychology. Since Hiltner, there have been many attempts to correlate psychology with theology such as in the works of Thomas Oden, Carroll Wise and Daniel Williams.²⁰

¹⁶ A. O. Dyson, "Pastoral Theology" in Alistair V. Campbell (ed.), *A Dictionary of Pastoral Care* (London: SPCK, 1987), p. 201.

¹⁷ Tidball, "Pastoral Theology", p. 494.

¹⁸ Michael Hocking, *Handbook of Pastoral Work* (London: Mowbray, 1985); Peter Liddell, *A Handbook of Pastoral Counselling* (London: Mowbray, 1983). See also Roger F. Hurding, *Roots and Shoots: A Guide to Counselling and Psychotherapy* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1986).

¹⁹ S. Hiltner, *Preface to Pastoral Theology* (Nashville, TN: Abingdon, 1958).

²⁰ H. R. Niebuhr & Williams Daniel D. (eds.), *The Ministry in Historical Perspective* (New York:

Nevertheless, in the last decade, the focus of pastoral theology has shifted away from this “psychological captivity”.²¹ There were several reasons for the shift. First, there was a concern to make pastoral theology a separate academic discipline rather than an adjunct to psychology. Secondly, the development of liberation theology raised the concern of pastoral theology for social and political situations which were more or less the causes of individual human problems. Thirdly, there was criticism of Hiltner’s approach as being liberal in its theological dimension and relativist in the moral dimension. In this trend, Eduard Thurneysen dealt with pastoral theology from a biblical perspective and emphasised the human need for forgiveness.²² By the end of the twentieth century, Gerald O’Collins and Edward G. Farrugia in 1991 published *A Concise Dictionary of Theology*, in which the scope of the pastoral theology has been set as reflections on

(a) preaching and catechetics from the study of scripture and systematic theology, (b) the practice of liturgical and sacramental life, (c) moral and spiritual counselling, (d) the care of people facing special problems (e.g., refugees, drug addicts, the sick, the very old and the dying), (e) struggles for justice and peace, and (f) the care of people of different ages and in different life-situations. Many see pastoral theology as synonymous with practical theology or critical reflection on the church’s manifold mission in the world.²³

According to the above analysis, it was to be expected that in the twenty-first century there would be new trends arising in pastoral theology. Tidball claimed that by reason of the multiple dimensions of literary writings in pastoral theology, the future for pastoral theology is promising.²⁴ By the same token, Dyson also echoed this as follows:

In a ‘post-industrial’ era of uncertainty and disorientation in value system, social policy, and individual experience, there is a significant opportunity to wrest pastoral theology from servitude to alien norms,

Harper and Brothers, 1956); Carroll Wise, *Pastoral Counselling: Its Theory and Practice* (New York: Harper, 1951); Thomas C. Oden, *Becoming a Minister* (Grand Rapids: Baker Books, 1994).

²¹ D. Tidball, “Pastoral Theology”, p. 494.

²² E. Thurneysen, *A Theology of Pastoral Care* (Atlanta, GA.: John Knox, 1962).

²³ Gerald O’Collins and Edward G. Farrugia (eds.), “Pastoral Theology” in *A Concise Dictionary of Theology* (London: Harper Collins Publishers, 1991), pp. 173-174.

²⁴ D. Tidball, “Pastoral Theology”, pp. 493-494; Gerald O’Collins and Edward G. Farrugia (eds.), “Pastoral Theology”, pp. 173-174.

and venture new forms of expression and practice, in which an integration of Christ-centred vision, critical analysis of the conditions of life, and churchly freedom for women and men, can interact, not uncritically, with new stirrings about the meaning and quality of life in society at large.²⁵

One implication of Dyson's assertion of the need "to wrest pastoral theology from servitude to alien norms, and venture new forms of expression and practice", was to view pastoral theology as the practice of socio-theological analysis in the struggle for justice and peace, which may have encountered many objections and criticisms from churches. However, Dyson's view was that the socio-political structure was very often the cause of the individual's problems in a particular circumstance. Pastoral theology as an interaction between theology and pastoral experiences therefore needed to consider that dimension and not just to deal with the symptoms, namely, individual problems.²⁶ That characteristic of pastoral theology was clearly seen in a non-western context. Attention shall now be turned to the definition of pastoral theology in a non-western context to see how socio-political analysis and participation can give pastoral theology new forms of expression and practice, in which an integration of Christ-centred vision can interact with "new stirrings about the meaning and quality of life in society at large."

²⁵ A. O. Dyson, "Pastoral Theology", p. 202.

²⁶ Ibid., pp. 201-203.

I-2. Definition of Pastoral Theology of the Third World and the Methodology of the Research in this Thesis

I-2.1. Definition of Pastoral Theology of the Third World

From above can be seen the definition and the development of pastoral theology in the western context. But it is now necessary to deal with pastoral theology in Taiwan, a region in the third world,²⁷ and to look at a definition from the third world theologian's point of view. Pastoral Theology in the context of the third world, according to Fabella's definition in the *Dictionary of Third World Theology*, is as follows:

Pastoral theology refers to a critical reflection on the presence and caring activity of God, and of human persons before God, within the social contexts of the world. It is pastoral because of its focus on the care of persons and communities. It is theological because it reflects on the activity of God as understood through the various practices and documents of faith. Pastoral theology has a strong praxis orientation... Although there are common themes in the pastoral theological activities across the Third World, there are also regional emphases...²⁸

In this definition, pastoral theology of the third world includes two perspectives and three elements. The two perspectives are that (1) to be theological it needs to be able to reflect on people's understandings of God's presence and activities, and (2) to be pastoral it needs to deal with issues relating to the caring of people in the community. In meeting the previous two criteria, there are three elements within the previous two perspectives: (1) God's presence and caring activities, (2) the presence and caring activities of human beings before God, and (3) social contexts of the world.

In the next section, the exploration will firstly focus on the theological perspective of the element of "God's presence and caring activities" and secondly, the pastoral perspective: the PCT's caring activities within their macro socio-political context.

²⁷ Here we only use "region" to describe Taiwan, because Taiwan has not been recognised as a country by international organisations such as the United Nation.

²⁸ Virginia Fabella and R. S. Sugirthajah (eds.), *Dictionary of Third World Theologies* (New York: Orbis Books, 2000), p. 161.

Theologically, what did it mean by God's presence and caring activities for them in the tradition of their faith? And pastorally, in their pastoral care for people, what kind of caring activities did the PCT undertake, and in what kind of situations, that is, in what kind of socio-political conditions, did they practise pastoral theology? Having explored what the local PCT believed and how they practised their belief in their living context, in closing, a critical assessment of their pastoral theology as a whole will be made.

I-2.2. The Methodology of Research in this Thesis

In section I-1 we traced the development of pastoral theology in western society. But because this discussion is about pastoral theology in the Taiwanese context, this would involve the process of contextualisation. Contextualisation means to emphasise "the actual present context as the starting point for doing theology."²⁹ It thus is to explore the mutual interaction between the gospel and a people with its particular culture whereby both are enriched.³⁰ The concept of contextualisation was first introduced to the theological world in 1972 by Shoki Coe of Taiwan, who was then the head of the Theological Education Fund (TEF) of the World Council of Churches. Before it, terms like "Inculturation", "Indiginization" and "Incarnation" were more commonly used in different regions.

Nevertheless, though it is now understood in different ways, in general, it looks at the local context critically with its historical, socio-economic, political, cultural, ethnic, racial and religious dimensions as well as the impact of outside forces such as globalization on the people.³¹ In other words, it utilizes local culture, narrative and sayings as the basis for doing theology. Therefore, contextualising pastoral theology in Taiwan means taking seriously Taiwanese problems, needs and fears. However, it

²⁹ Leslie Newbigin, "Culture and Theology" in Alistair E. McGrath (ed.), *The Blackwell Encyclopedia of Modern Christian Thought* (Massachusetts: Blackwell, 1993), p. 100.

³⁰ Fabella, "Inculturation" in Fabella and Sugirtharaja (eds.), *Dictionary of Third World Theologies*, p. 105. For further discussion on indigenisation and contextulization please cf. Fabella and Sugirtharaja (eds.), pp. 58-59, "Contextulization", pp. 106-108, "Indigenization", and pp. 104-105, "Inculturation". Also, Augustine U. Nebechukwu, "Third World Theology and the Recovery of African Identity" in *Journal of Inculturation Theology*, vol. 2, no. 1, 1995, pp. 17-27. The concept of "Contextualisation" is in many ways interchangeable with "Inculturation", "Indigenisation", and "Incarnation". For all of them is to explore the mutual interaction between the gospel and a people with its particular culture. According to Fabella, there is regional preference in using these terms among the third world theologians, such as "Incarnation" among catholic theologians, "Indigenization" in protestant tradition, and some find "Contextulization" more adequate to describe the realities of the people's socio-economic and political conditions of life context.

³¹ Fabella, "Contextualisation", pp. 106-108.

cannot be localised to such a degree that the faith cannot be recognised by other Christians within the communion of churches.

As for studying issues relating to a local culture, the focus should be on “observable, concrete, and incarnated social activities”,³² which people produce in their daily life. This had been emphasised by Alasuutari in his *Researching Culture: Qualitative Method and Cultural Studies*. In that book he also stressed that the interpretation of meaning of those activities was regarded as an activity derived from everyday situations of interaction. Therefore, the researcher should not compete with lay-people to take over the right to interpret meaning:

The ethnomethodological method emphasis on *cultural studies*, for example, stresses that the researcher should not try to suggest interpretations of people’s world of meanings, to try to move into their minds. The interpretation of meaning is regarded as an activity that is characteristic of everyday situations of interaction: we look at what other people do, and infer on that basis what they ‘mean’ or ‘think’, and then respond on the basis of interpretation we have made. The researcher should not compete with laypeople over such interpretation of meaning. The researcher should not try to offer the ultimate interpretation to what a thing ‘really’ means.³³

It is important in the contextualisation of a theology, including pastoral theology, to let the local people focus on their own specific cultural situations, explore the realities of their socio-economic and political conditions of life, and allow them to draw meaning out of those activities, so that they can answer questions derived from their daily life. In this way the colonized people can be helped to recover their dignity or identity. This notion is addressed by Augustine U. Nebechukwu, in his article on the recovery of African identity for his Nigerian people, as follows:

To begin with questions that people in the specific context asked for themselves, not with those posed by other Christian churches

³² Pertti Alasuutari, *Researching Culture: Qualitative Method and Cultural Studies* (London: Sage, 1995), p. 36.

³³ Alasuutari, *Researching Culture: Qualitative Method and Cultural Studies* (London: Sage, 1995), p. 36.

is best suited to recover lost identity or dignity that has been denied. For in this way it can contribute to allow people to say their own words. It can thus help to eliminate questions that were only necessary for a systematic understanding of faith. However, it also initiates dialogue with Christian tradition whereby that tradition can address questions posed by that particular context of people's life.³⁴

Another reason for contextualising a theology is that, although it has been claimed that all theologies are born out of the social conditions and needs of a particular context, in the past, there was no conscious effort to understand that context. In fact, the impact of cultural complexity on missionary activity and on doing theology has been noticed in research of the nineteenth century missions. In her work on "Ethnology and Theology: Nineteen Century Mission Dilemmas", Jane Samson stressed that to ignore the complexity of a particular culture would often cause a disappointing result in mission work:

The failure of missionaries to recognize the true depth of cultural difference often lead to disappointment, and sometimes disaster, especially in the western island missions... Recent scholarship often seems more concerned with a disapproval of European expansionism than that an exploration of its complexities: religion, idealism, racial perceptions, and international missions are with us still, still driven by a complex combination of cultural priorities and historical changes. To study the ethnology of mission is to begin to grasp the scope of that complexity.³⁵

Another reason for contextualising pastoral theology in the complexity of a local culture is stated by Newbigin. In mentioning the influence of culture on theology, Newbigin asserted that every theology brought with it some influences of the culture from which it derived. However, in the past, cultural judgment was often based on

³⁴ Nebechukwu, "Third World Theology and the Recovery of African Identity", in *Journal of Inculturation Theology*, Vol. 2, No.1 (Nigeria: Catholic Institute of West Africa, 1995), pp.17-27, p. 25. In saying so, he was in debt to Robert Schreiter, *Constructing Local Theologies* (Maryknoll: Orbis, 1985), pp. 12-14.

³⁵ Jane Samson, "Ethnology and Theology: Nineteen Century Mission Dilemmas" in Brian Stanley (ed.), *Christian Missions and the Enlightenment* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmanns, 2001), 99-122, pp. 120-121.

the assumption that the Northern cultures were superior to the Southern cultures. Therefore, Kanyoro also said in his definition of culture, that in thinking of culture in theological terms, it was necessary to affirm the realities within every culture. Intercultural understanding should not define culture from a position of power. This is said in *Dictionary of Third World Theologies*:

Dialogue on matters of culture is still largely undeveloped... In the past, cultural judgment have often based on false colonial distinctions that maintained a belief in the superiority of Northern cultures over Southern cultures. Current debates on culture generally promote intercultural understanding and depart from a frame of reference that defines culture from a position of power... Rethinking culture in theological terms requires affirming realities within every culture and in using appropriate terminology, because the communication of the gospel occurs only through the use of the culture.³⁶

Both Newbigin and Kanyoro's points of view are in agreement with the approach of contextualisation theology. Therefore, it is now time in theology to stress local and situational concerns, to take into account contemporary phenomena, such as the struggles for justice and the changes wrought by modernisation, while at the same drawing basic power from the gospel which is for all people.³⁷

Finally, to conclude this section, Lyall's words will be used to stress the importance of the method of adopting the stories, sayings retelling local people's life experiences in the discussion of the pastoral theology. Lyall said in his comment on "Theological Reflection and Theological Integration" that "theological reflection is only possible when we listen to the stories of individuals and communities as well as to the stories which have shaped the church and its message."³⁸ In believing that every culture can contribute insights for the articulation of the message of God, when discussing pastoral theology in the Taiwanese context, use will be made of literature and records published in Taiwan together with stories and dialogues of the local people. Local people say what they believe about God, what they have done as a result of their belief, and what the socio-political situation of their time was like. By this method it

³⁶ Musimbi R. Kanyoro, "Culture", *Dictionary of Third World Theologies*, pp. 62-63.

³⁷ Fabella, "Contextulization", *Dictionary of Third World Theologies*, pp. 58-59.

³⁸ Lyall, *Integrity of Pastoral Care*, p. 37.

is hoped to minimize the influences of western culture on this study of pastoral theology in the context of Taiwan, and to provide, as Dyson said, “a significant opportunity to wrest pastoral theology from servitude to alien norms, and venture new forms of expression and practice.” (cf. Section I-1 The Development of Pastoral Theology in Western Context.)

We turn now to the theological perspective of the PCT, namely, how they talk about faith in God on the basis of the documents of their faith.

I-3. An Illustration of Pastoral Theology: Macro Background of the Case Study—The Story of the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan (the PCT) since the End of the Second World War

Pastoral theology, as it was defined previously, includes two perspectives: theological and pastoral. In section I-1 the history of pastoral theology in a western context has been traced, showing the shift of foci at the different stages of their history. However, because this thesis is to propose Pastoral Theology from the context of Taiwan, for the sake of contextualisation, the particular social background of Taiwan will be examined in this section through the exploration of exploration of the pastoral theology of the Presbyterian Churches in Taiwan, to see first how the biggest Christian denomination in Taiwan, based on their faith tradition, responded to the social problems in Taiwan. Secondly, the story of the PCT that we explore in this section will serve to demonstrate how the theological perspective of a pastoral theology can direct the practice of the pastoral caring activities in the context of Taiwan. Therefore, Section I-3.1 will be on the theological perspective of the pastoral theology of the PCT, regarding how they perceive God and God's caring activities according to the document of their faith. Section I-3.2 takes the pastoral angle, seeing how the PCT performed "the human caring activities for persons and community" in the development of their history. The former is basically a descriptive denominational confession of the PCT's faith derived from Christian tradition of the document of faith and the latter is mainly a documentary record of the concrete actions the PCT took to serve the people individually and collectively in the different social, economic, and political contexts of their history. The resources of the second part (I-3.2) will be mainly drawn from the local life stories and sayings, as mentioned in the methodology of section I-2.

I-3.1.Theological Perspectives of the Pastoral Theology of the PCT—A Confession of the Faith of the PCT: Let All the Glory Be to God

Practical Theology is

Critical and constructive reflection by the community of faith

Carried out consistently in the context of their praxis

Drawing on their interpretations of normative sources from
scripture and tradition

In response to their interpretations of the current challenges and

situations they face, and

Leading to on-going modifications and transformations of their practices

In order to be more adequately responsive

To their interpretations of the shape of God's call to partnership.³⁹

The theological perspective of the pastoral theology held by the PCT, as it is defined, should "reflect on the activity of God, as understood through the various practices and documents of faith." Christian mission, no matter in what form, must reflect, and reflect on, Scripture. Without theological reflection, the pastoral caring works of pastoral theology will be reduced to "Reductionism". As Oden observed,

Reductionism, the characteristically modern misjudgement about ministry, attempts to reduce the essence of ministry to a human social function or the philosophical insight or to moral teaching or to psychological counselling or to political change advocacy. These views diminish the pastoral office by failing to see its distinctive self-understanding, its divine commission, its Spirit-led calling, its dependence upon revelation, and its accountability to apostolic faith. The tension is lost between the divine calling and the life of the world by viewing divine calling as being socially determined and dissecting it as a quantifiable object.⁴⁰

According to Oden, pastoral theology is complex and cannot be reduced to mere moral teaching or psychological counselling; it needs a spiritually oriented dimension such as divine calling or commission. In this regard, Lyall, drawing from Fowler's definition of practical theology (see the beginning of this section), stated that practical theology, and therefore the theology of pastoral care, is not only

- (1) "an activity of the Church as community, exploration carried out in the context of a shared life and faith", but also
- (2) "an on-going activity of the church in the light of its own praxis, i.e. its life and work arising out of its faith". However, it

³⁹ James Fowler, *A Definition of Pastoral Theology*, Apr. 1995, delivered at the International Academy of Practical Theology held in Berne. Quoted from Lyall, *Integrity of Pastoral Care*. p. 35.

⁴⁰ Thomas Oden, *Pastoral Theology: Essentials for Ministry* (San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1983), p. 55.

- (3) “cannot take place without engagement with an understanding of Scripture or theological tradition”, though, certainly, in practice and application it will
- (4) “need interpretation and analysis of the current social/political reality which is also integral to the nature of practical theology.” And hopefully, by doing so, we can
- (5) “ultimately bring about a transformation in practice more congruent with an interpretation of the nature of discipleship.”⁴¹

In the above description, Lyall has clearly listed the elements of complexity in pastoral theology which encompass the community of faith, activities that the community carried out, scripture, the interpretation of both the scripture and the living context. Again, Lyall asserted that pastoral practice needed to be based upon a theological reflection on the scripture of faith (point 3). Regarding the theological perspective, as Dr. Hong Hsin Lin, a professor of Taiwan Seminary in Systematic Theology and Hermeneutics, said, “There is no neutral stand in theology, every theology has its preferred point of view. Therefore in every theological discussion the sooner the better it is to know where the discussion is derived from.”⁴²

Thus, in the following, we will engage with the PCT’s understanding of Scripture or theological tradition and clarify which God they serve and what their documents of faith describe about this God. In this regard, the PCT made their denominational confession of the faith, which derived from the Christian Bible (in Fabella’s terms, the documents of faith in the Christian tradition), “Let all the glory be to God in Jesus Christ.” The connotation within the claim is as follows:

I-3.1.1. Let all the glory be to God, the God who is described in the Christian Bible

The Christian Bible for the PCT is the complete revelation about God and God’s being with all of creation. All their understanding about God such as God’s nature and characteristics is drawn from the Bible. Any declamation of the Christian faith, any tradition or document of this faith, cannot contradict the unity of the Bible. Therefore, not only do they emphasize preaching the Word, Bible study and theological education, they also try hard to make the principles in the Bible the

⁴¹ Lyall, *Integrity of Pastoral Care*, p. 35.

⁴² Hong Hsin Lin, “長老教會聖靈論” (The Presbyterian View of the Holy Spirit) in *Theology and the Church* (神學與教會), vol. 22, no. 2, (Tainan: Tainan Theological College and Seminary, 1997), 162-180, p. 162.

conscience of society and guidance for human life.

Secondly, according to their understanding of the Bible, the PCT declare that the God of their faith is omnipotent and omniscient, the Lord of the universe and human history, the Creator and the One who saves. This God is in control of the progress of human history, and all that happened in the world will eventually fulfill God's good Will for creation. The purpose of a human's life is to glorify God. Thus, in all the PCT's missionary actions, there is only one purpose: "May God's Name be Gloried or Let All the Glory be to God."⁴³

1-3.1.2. Let all the glory be to God, the God who demands that human beings face the reality of sin and who requires a proclamation of the need for reconciliation between human beings and God.

The PCT's perception of sin is that "sin" is a reality in humans' lives. This reality cannot be made up by good works but only through the way God chooses to reconcile through the death of God incarnated on the cross.⁴⁴ It was why Bo-Ho Huang, the Dean of the Centre of Research and Development of the PCT, commented that, when disciples follow Jesus, there must come a point like that when Jesus asked Peter, "Who do you think I am?" and demanded a personal confession of faith in him.⁴⁵ Therefore, in the understanding of the PCT, good works, namely, activities done for the sake of loving the neighbour are a necessary but not a sufficient condition for salvation. Salvation can only be through God's chosen way and the great commission from their Lord (Mt. 28: 19) to proclaim the gospel, thus needs to be taken with great sincerity. Professor Nan Chou Chen, a professor of ethics in Taiwan Theological Seminary, in his reflection on the Christian mission and the will of God, commented:

'May God's Will be Done' is not about a set of ethical or moral norms, but to proclaim God's activities in Jesus Christ so that

⁴³Bo Chhen Chen, general editor, *認識台灣基督長老教會 (Understanding the Presbyterian Churches in Taiwan)* (Taiwan: Jen Kuang, 1986), p. 38; Chern Huei Hong, (eds.), *焚而不毀: 台灣基督長老教會信徒訓練手冊 (Burning but not Consumed: The Guidelines for the Training of the Lay People of Presbyterian Churches in Taiwan)* (Tainan, Taiwan: Jen Kuang, 1988), pp. 20-24.

⁴⁴Wu Chhong Wang, *台灣本土文化談道的探討 (A Study of Contextualising Evangelism)* (Taipei, Taiwan: Tian-Ny, 1995), p. 16.

⁴⁵Po Ho Huang, *A Theology of Self-determination* (Tainan, Taiwan: Chhut Thau Thian Theological Study Centre, 1996), p. 36.

human beings can be reconciled to God, to have a right relationship with God, and then to have a new life.⁴⁶

I-3.1.3. Let all the glory be to God, the God who takes the initiative to have a relationship with human beings and who takes a human form to identify with them and participate in their history.

The God described in the Christian Bible is the God who sent Jesus Christ to dwell among people in the world (Mt. 1: 22-23; John. 3: 16-17). The incarnated God, Jesus Christ, risked danger and suffering to meet with his people in the concrete spatio-temporal experience of life and built up hope for humanity.⁴⁷ By being a man he participated in the history and culture of human beings, and has become the way to salvation for human beings by his death and resurrection. For the PCT, whatever the identity of the church, it must be an identity derived from the person and works of Jesus Christ.⁴⁸ In this regard, Huang took John Macquarrie's discussion of the threefold office of Christ. The centre of Christ's threefold, kingly, priestly and prophetic offices is obedience to the will of God as a model self-giving love.⁴⁹ Therefore, the PCT, learning from Jesus' model, has emphasised the need to identify with the suffering of their people in particular those who were marginalised (cf. section I-3.2).

I-3.1.4. Let all the glory be to God, the God who requests two pivotal loves from human beings.

The PCT take a view that to obey the two commandments regarding pivotal love, "Love the Lord your God with all your heart and with all your soul and with all your mind" and "Love your neighbour as yourself," is to glorify God, for "all the Law and the Prophets hang on these two commandments." 50 Chen, in his reflection on the Christian mission and the will of God further stated that Christians are called to live out, with faithful concrete actions, God's will in the society or community. He stated

⁴⁶ Nan Chou Chen, "對聖安東尼報告書的回應" (Reflection on the San Antonio Report), A Report for the meeting held by Commission on World Mission and Evangelism (CWME) and World Council of Churches (WCC) in May 22nd, 1989, *Theology and the Church*, vol. 2, no. 1 (Tainan Theological College and Seminary, 1994), pp. 61-70, p. 66.

⁴⁷ Huang, *A Theology of Self-determination*, p. 58.

⁴⁸ Huang, *A Theology of Self-determination*, p. 133.

⁴⁹ John Macquarrie, *Principles of Christian Theology* (London: SCM, 1977), p. 317- 21; Huang, *A Theology of Self-determination*, p. 134.

⁵⁰ Mt. 22: 37-40, Mt. 22: 40 and Mt. 4: 10 (NIV).

that,

Christian mission is to proclaim the kingdom of God. The kingdom of God is a kingdom of righteousness, loving kindness, and peace which is also the standard of social ethics. If church or Christians *keep silence* in viewing the injustice of society, either in the structure of the society or the individual's conduct, then they cannot claim that the gospel is the truth, righteousness, faithfulness, kindness and justice.⁵¹

For the PCT to love neighbours cannot be separated from striving for justice, righteousness, and human rights, for as it is said in their Bible: "Righteousness and justice are the foundation of your throne; steadfast love and faithfulness go before you," (Ps. 89: 14) and "He has showed you, O man, what is good. And what does the Lord require of you? To act justly and to love mercy and to walk humbly with your God" (Micah 6: 8).⁵² The Policy of Democracy therefore has been one of their major principles both in their administrative work and in mission. To insist constantly that human rights are gifts from God, which no person may be deprived of by other human beings, the PCT, because of obeying God's requests of loving God and neighbours, has constantly striven for a just and righteous society.⁵³ The symbol of the bush burning but not consumed described in the stories of Moses (Ex. 3:2), has been used to symbolise the spirit of endurance of suffering (ref. section I-3.2 and I-3.3. for a concrete case study of the PCT's application of these passages).⁵⁴

I-3.1.5. Let all the glory be to God in a sense means always being present before God to search for a vision or insight out of a critical reflection on the life situation.

The churches have a great commission from the Lord. However, to transform the commission into concrete, applicable goals to meet the needs of a specific time

⁵¹ Nan Chou Chen, "Reflection on the San Antonio Report", p. 66.

⁵² Chern Huei Hong (eds.), pp. 21-24. Some other Biblical passages on the justice and righteousness they have based on are such as Isa. 1: 15-17, Amos 2: 6-8; 5: 14-15, 21-24, Micah 3: 1-4; 6: 6-8.

⁵³ Nan Chou Chen, "Reflection on the San Antonio Report", p. 68.

⁵⁴ Hong, p. 40. The first use of the analogy of the phrase in Ex. 3: 2 was in the 12th National Synod of French Reformed Church in 1583.

needs wisdom and vision from God (Prov. 29: 18).⁵⁵ It needs critical insight or vision to assess the needs of the community. The development of insight, both personal and corporate, is pivotal in nourishing the members and the corporate life of the community and hence is an important part of pastoral work. It is as Huang observed:

A pluralistic society creates a new and more complicated atmosphere for the Christian church to do its mission. There are many arms (of need) each with its different ideological, ethnic or religious interests and value judgements, stretching out to the churches: politically, the selection of the priority for democracy or for national identification; ethnically, concerns about tensions among the aboriginal, the Taiwanese, and the mainlanders... To search for a new role of mission in the pluralistic society of Taiwan today is therefore an urgent task for the PCT.⁵⁶

According to Huang, in a modern pluralistic society, the PCT is challenged to react to the demand from both churches internally and the community in the society externally. How should the PCT with their limited resources and time, respond to the needs and select for themselves the priorities of mission or pastoral caring activities? Their perception is that they will need help from the essence of God's presence, namely, God's word, prayer, and the Holy Spirit, for a critical analysis and assessment of their living context. They also need the power of the Holy Spirit to transform their subjective and self-interested human nature so that they can truly follow the Will of God in all their seeking and doing.⁵⁷

To conclude this section on the theological perspectives of the PCT's pastoral theology, it can thus be said that when the PCT declare that "Let all the glory be to God," the declaration conveys various convictions derived from their understanding of the Christian Bible and the God described in the Bible. In the next section, a further examination will be carried out on the pastoral perspective of their pastoral theology, namely, how they have actually acted out the theological convictions of

⁵⁵ Proverb 29: 18: "If there is no guidance from the Lord, the people cast off restraint." (The new version of Chinese translation of the Bible).

⁵⁶ Huang, *A Theology of Self-determination*, p. 132; also cf. Derek Blows, "Insight" in Alastair V. Campbell, (ed.), *A Dictionary of Pastoral Care*, p. 133.

⁵⁷ Huang, *A Theology of Self-determination*, pp. 132-133.

their pastoral theology with concrete and visible actions such as sacrificial participation in difficult situations of life in the past half-century.

I-3.2. The Pastoral Perspective of the Pastoral Theology of the PCT: The Presence and Caring Activities of Human Persons before God

Guthrie asserted in terms of a theological reflection that “theological reflection always involves a mutually informative dialogue between its normative sources and human experience in a particular political, economic, cultural, and historical environment.”⁵⁸ His assertion is also true in pastoral theology, because it needs to be mutually informed by its theological perspective and pastoral perspective. Theodore Jennings also mentioned that only if theological or doctrinal assertions prove to be relevant to people’s life and actually illuminating in pastoral practice do they retain their status as a powerful theological formulation.⁵⁹ This section therefore aims to explore whether the PCT’s theological convictions were relevant to their real life; whether they could glorify their God through concrete and observable actions in caring for their fellow people in the life of the community, namely, whether the theological and pastoral perspectives related to each other and be mutually informed.

In the past half century, because of the change of macro circumstance, the PCT swung between communal and individual care, between “the tradition” and “the modern trend”, and balanced their priorities with regard to their ministry. Lyall’s model of pastoral theology, suggested that a pastoral theology not only needed to engage with the Scripture or theological tradition, it also needed to analyse the living social/political reality of the time when in practice and application (ref. section I-3.1).⁶⁰ This is in fact what the PCT did. The concrete cases will be used, as mentioned in the methodology of section I-2, to examine what caring activities they had for the people in their community. The case studies will show what the confession of faith meant to the PCT when encountering the reality of the world in the social, economic, and political conditions of society.

The cases are from two different stages of Taiwan’s history, because each stage had its sociological characteristics and thus the PCT needed to cope with them differently:

⁵⁸ Shirley C. Guthrie, “Theology, Christian” in Rodney J. Hunter (ed.), *Dictionary of Pastoral Care and Counselling* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1990), p. 1266; also Patton, p. 237.

⁵⁹ Theodore Jennings, “Pastoral Theological Methodology” in *Dictionary of Pastoral Care and Counselling*, p. 863.

⁶⁰ Lyall, *Integrity of Pastoral Care*, p. 35.

(1) from the end of the Second World War to 1964, (2) from 1964 to 1987, a case of primarily serving the Lord in a communal sense, i.e. participating in socio-political movement. The format of the discussion in each stage will cover three aspects which relate to the pastoral perspective of the PCT’s pastoral theology: (a) the analysis of the social context and the needs of the community of the time (b) love for neighbours - the caring activities of PCT during the period of the time, and (c) a critical analysis and assessment by the author. The first two perspectives are basically descriptive, that is, for the sake of contextualization, to let local people tell us their stories, what actually happened in Taiwan and how the PCT reacted to it. Through the description of what happened and what the PCT did, the questions raised in the introduction of this chapter will be answered.

Diagram: The stages of the practice of pastoral theology in Taiwan since the end of the Second World War to 1987

From the end of the Second World War to 1964	from 1964 to 1987
Primarily serving the Lord in a communal sense, i.e. evangelism in the society of Taiwan after the war.	An adjustment/shift in the priority of the ministry because of the change of macro social-political conditions: participating in socio-political movement

I-3.3. The Period from the End of the Second World War to 1964—Ministry in the Grass Root Level

The social scene of Taiwan in the period between the end of the Second World War and 1964 was that people were terrified by the killing of the war and what the new government from China did to Taiwanese people.⁶¹ Before the PCT began to have an active political participation, very soon after the 228 incident, when the terror of the killing was still vivid in Taiwanese memory, they had a successful church planting

⁶¹ In particular by the incident called 228 that happened in the society of Taiwan in 1947. Please ref. next section, I-3.4.1.

movement at the grass root level in the rural society of Taiwan. Between 1954 and 1964, they promoted a “Double Increasing Movement” (P.K.U. in Taiwanese abbreviation) to plant churches all over rural areas of Taiwan. This movement connected Christianity strongly at the grass root level with Taiwanese who were poor and marginalized. The numbers of believers increased from 59,471 (July, 5, 1954) to 102,943 (end of 1964), while before the movement the increase in believers was only 8,295 from 1942 to 1951. The number of Presbyterian churches increased from 233 to 466. From the statistical numbers we know the movement was very successful at the time.⁶²

The numbers of churches and believers: before and after 10 years of P.K.U. movement

	Number of churches	Number of churches
July, 1954	233	59,471
Dec., 1964	466	102,943 (+ 43, 572)

I-3.4. The Period from 1964 to 1987—Prophetic Ministry in a Time of Turmoil

While western society was still struggling in defining the scope of pastoral theology, in Taiwan, because of the change of their macro circumstances, the Presbyterian Churches had been forced to decide whether they should initiate a political movement in their society.⁶³

The theologies of liberation in different parts of the world have rightly tackled evil causes in particular societies by using sociological tools to analyze oppressive structures prevalent in most of third-world countries. The systems of capitalism, apartheid, and sexual discrimination have been identified as the most blatant forms of oppression. Criticizing and combating these social and political evils are regarded as two of the most important tasks of the church

⁶²Bo Chhen Chen, general editor, *認識台灣基督長老教會* (*Understanding the Presbyterian Churches in Taiwan*), pp. 23-24.

⁶³ An anonymous Presbyterian pastor in an interview.

today.⁶⁴

I-3.4.1. The analysis of the social context and the needs of the community of the time in Taiwan

After the Second World War, Taiwan had just regained her autonomy from the occupation of Japan, when the nationalist troops, led by Chiang Kai-Shek and evacuated from China, took over the ruling power of the country. There was a severe conflict at the time between the people who had lived in Taiwan and those nationalist troops from China. The former had tried to regain autonomy for the Taiwanese but failed. The so-called 228 incident happened in 1947 in which there were, according to official statistics, 18,000 to 28,000 of the Taiwanese elite killed during the conflict. What happened in that period of time was described by a witness:

On that day there were many people beating drums on the street to protest that the armies killed ordinary people. Every window of the governmental offices had been set up with machine guns. When the order was given to shoot, the machine guns started to shoot people on the streets. Many people were hurt and ran to the stores on the sides of the streets to try to hide inside. But none of these stores dared to open the door for them. My husband asked me to open the door to let them in. Once the door was opened, many people ran in. Almost all were hurt...⁶⁵

After the incident, the whole country was under martial law and people lived in fear of the “White Terror”, which meant that people did not have freedom of speech. They were afraid of being arrested if they said something to be deemed by the government as “the betrayal of the country”.⁶⁶ Once a person or an organisation was accused of this, anything could happen to them. One of the cases for what often happened in those times was also described in a grandmother’s story:

⁶⁴ Huang, *A Theology of Self-determination*, p. 130.

⁶⁵ Won Sh Sia Chen, “My Life” (我的一生) in Wun Wi Chian (ed.), *The Stories of Grandmothers* (祖母的故事) (Taipei, Taiwan: Yu San, 1995), pp. 2-35, p. 14.

⁶⁶ Wun Wi Chian (ed.), *The Stories of Grandmothers* (Taipei, Taiwan: Yu San, 1995), pp. 12-14, 44-46. This incident had terrified Taiwanese, since then Taiwanese were very careful not to speak anything against the government in public. The incident was covered up. It was until 1997 the ruling power was shifted to Democratic Progressive Party, government made an official apology and some compensation to the families who suffered because of the incident.

There was one time when thirty-seven doctors of Kaohsiung Medical Hospital were going to be slaughtered; the reason was treason. No matter how we explained, they still wanted to execute those doctors. Fortunately, at that crucial moment, one officer came and pointed to my brother and told the army, you cannot kill this doctor. It was he who healed me last time when I was very ill. These doctors healed many of our soldiers. How can they be traitors?' As a result, those doctors were set free, but the doctors in the other hospitals were not so fortunate. Neither were those teachers and students in Kaohsiung Senior High School, or the professors in some of the colleges. Many of them were killed...⁶⁷

In this period of time, the tension between Taiwanese speakers and Mandarin speakers (mainlanders) was high and Taiwanese were forced to speak Mandarin in school (when the Japanese were ruling the country, the use of Japanese was obligatory in school). On many occasions, Taiwanese were treated as if they were inferior to Mandarin speakers.⁶⁸ For those Mandarin speakers, Taiwan was their temporary home, and governmental teaching for the students were always on the lines of "we are preparing to re-gain our territory of mainland China", or "we are going back to mainland China soon". Taiwan was only a base for "fighting back".⁶⁹ None of the social construction of the time was intended to build a long term society for people to live in this land. Henceforth many Taiwanese had to live under a double threat: they were either afraid of being arrested, as those who died in the incident of 228 had been, or afraid of imminent war with "the enemy on the other side of Taiwan Strait (China)" as the government often claimed. So, for many Taiwanese, as long as there was a way to emigrate to another country, they would go and stay there. This situation continued until Chiang Kai-Shek's son, Chiang Chin Kou, the president of Taiwan at that time, announced the lifting of martial law in the country, in 1987. Not until the lifting of martial law did the Taiwan government finally face the reality that Taiwan could be seriously considered as the place for them to settle down.

In such an unjust social context, the PCT were requested to reflect on the theological perspective of their pastoral theology and asked, "In order to glorify

⁶⁷ Won Sh Sia Chen, "My Life" (我的一生), pp. 13-14.

⁶⁸ Chian, (ed.), *The Stories of Grandmothers*, pp. 46-47.

⁶⁹ This was the common experience of Taiwan student of the time in which the author had personally experienced.

God, what do Christians in Taiwan need to do? Or in Fabella's terms, what is the praxis they need to focus on in order to act out the righteousness their God required from them?"

I-3.4.2. Love for the neighbours: what the PCT have done to show their neighbours God's caring activities for them in the period after the end of the Second World War to 1987

Taiwanese society in this period was a society with conflicts between people and the government: people did not have freedom of speech, and did not want to stay in the homeland.⁷⁰ The PCT therefore sensed prophetically the need for a peaceful struggle toward a democratic country, to insist on human rights and to walk with the poor and the oppressed. This would be their way to witness God's salvation in Christ and loving kindness for God's creation in their society at that stage of the history of their country, as Huang asserted that "only through interaction and participation in the historical context of human struggle can a belief really be rooted in society and in the depths of people's hearts."⁷¹

The action the PCT took was to identify themselves with people who had suffered from the White Terror and emphasize the need to settle down in this land. The specific way that the PCT identified themselves with the suffering of Taiwanese in this period of political crisis was to make three political declarations in the 1970s:

(i). "Statement on Our National Fate" (December 29, 1971): The statement was announced not long after The United Nations voted to let China replace Taiwan in The United Nations. Meanwhile the president of America, Nixon, expressed his intention to visit China. The Taiwanese fear of imminent war was intensified; many envisioned, with terror, that Taiwan would be taken over by communist China. The PCT then made the "Statement on Our National Fate" to proclaim to the international society that the fate of Taiwan should and could only be decided by the 15 million (figure of 1971) people who lived in the land. The statement also suggested that the Taiwanese government needed a domestic reformation to win the respect of

⁷⁰ Virginia Fabella and R. S. Sugirtharajah, *Dictionary of Third World Theologies* p. 162.

⁷¹ Huang, *A Theology of Self-determination*, p. 77. This perception echoed what Robin Gill observed regarding the strong influence of a social structure that "the pastoral care of individuals is valueless if it does nothing to change the economic and political structures responsible for oppressing those individuals." Robin Gill, "Social Structures and Pastoral Care" in *A Dictionary of Pastoral Care*, pp. 259-260.

international society. This action caused the PCT to be investigated by the security department of the government. In January, 1975 the Taiwanese government banned the Taiwanese version of the Bible.⁷² However, international society noticed the struggle of Taiwanese to settle down fully in their homeland. Both the American Congress and the Vatican wrote to the PCT to show their support for the Taiwanese right to make their own decisions for their future.⁷³

(ii). “Our Plea” (November 18, 1975): While the government of Taiwan kept an eye on the Presbyterian Churches, and even sent people to participate in their Sunday worship, the PCT made this plea to the government. In the plea the PCT pleaded to their government to give people freedom of belief that was assured in the Constitution of the country and to allow churches to join the international organisation of Churches. Furthermore, they asked the government to have a mutual trusting relationship with the PCT.

(iii). “A Declaration on Human Rights” (August 16, 1977): The declaration was made after the US had announced that they were going to resume normal diplomatic relations with China. Both America and China claimed there was only one China in the world. Taiwanese were afraid that Taiwan would be betrayed by America in her political negotiation with China. In the declaration the PCT reiterated to the international society the human right of Taiwanese to make their own decisions regarding the future of their country. The PCT also asked people in the land to have faith in God, to believe that God would lead the country through the national political crisis. The most sensitive issue in the declaration was that the PCT suggested the government take concrete action to make Taiwan a “new and independent” country in the world.⁷⁴

The result of these actions for the PCT was oppression in various forms from their government, their people and even their fellow Christians of the time. The most serious one was “The Incident of Formosa” in 1979 in which an originally intended

⁷² Chern Huei Hong, (ed.), 焚而不燬: 台灣基督長老教會信徒訓練手冊 (*Burning but not Consumed: The Guidelines for the Training of the Lay People of Presbyterian Churches in Taiwan*), pp. 60-62; Bo Chhen Chen, general editor, *Understanding the Presbyterian Churches in Taiwan* (認識台灣基督長老教會), pp. 108-123.

⁷³ Hong, (ed.), 焚而不燬: 台灣基督長老教會信徒訓練手冊 (*Burning but not Consumed: The Guidelines for the Training of the Lay People of Presbyterian Churches in Taiwan*), p. 61.

⁷⁴ For the full contents of these three documents please see Po Ho Huang, *Theology of Self-determination*, pp. 138-150 (English version), or Hong, (ed.), *Burning but not Consumed: The Guidelines for the Training of the Lay People of Presbyterian Churches in Taiwan* (焚而不燬: 台灣基督長老教會信徒訓練手冊), pp. 63, 64, 306.

peaceful speech on the UN Human Rights Day had turned into a political arrest. As a consequence of the incident some pastors including the general moderator of the PCT, Chin Min Kao, were sentenced for 3, or 5, or 12 years.⁷⁵ Out of their convictions rooted in their pastoral theology, to identify with people in suffering in their community and act for human rights which their God granted to God's people (section II-1-(4)), the PCT had chosen to play a prophetic role and give voice to their prophetic insight for a democratic and just country to their society and government. But they thereby encountered severest hardship in the history of their mission in Taiwan.

I-3.4.3. A critical evaluation and assessment

From the above description of Taiwanese life-stories between the time after the Second World War and 1987, it is possible to answer some of the questions posed in the beginning of this section. First, at the time when many Taiwanese were terrified by the "White Terror" and tried to emigrate to other countries, the PCT stood firmly behind their theological convictions and took concrete action to identify with their people in the land, as their Lord took a human form to identify with his people on earth (cf. Theological Perspective, I-3.1.). Their theological conviction had influenced their pastoral practice.

Secondly, in a country and time when there was no freedom of speech and a constant threat of being killed without a specific reason, the PCT risked their lives to confront the tyrannical government of the time and strove for the freedom of their people. They perceived this as a way of glorifying God. The policy of democracy and God's commandment to love neighbours as the self had become the guide for their pastoral caring activities (section I-3.2.).

Thirdly, it can also be seen from their stories that the main focus of their mission had been shifted from caring for the individual's relationship with God to caring for the collective need by political participation after the first decade of the successful P.K.U. movement from 1954 to 1964. The principle reason for the shift came as a result of an analysis of the social and political context of the time, and the vision of political participation as a way to carry out the mission at that period of time (section

⁷⁵ Hong, (ed.), *焚而不燬: 台灣基督長老教會信徒訓練手冊* (*Burning but not Consumed: The Guidelines for the Training of the Lay People of Presbyterian Churches in Taiwan*), p. 125, among Presbyterians who were sentenced, there were Rev. Hong-Shian Lin (12 years), Rev. Yio-Chhuan Tsai (5 years) and Rev. Tian-Sian Hsu (3 years).

I-3.3).

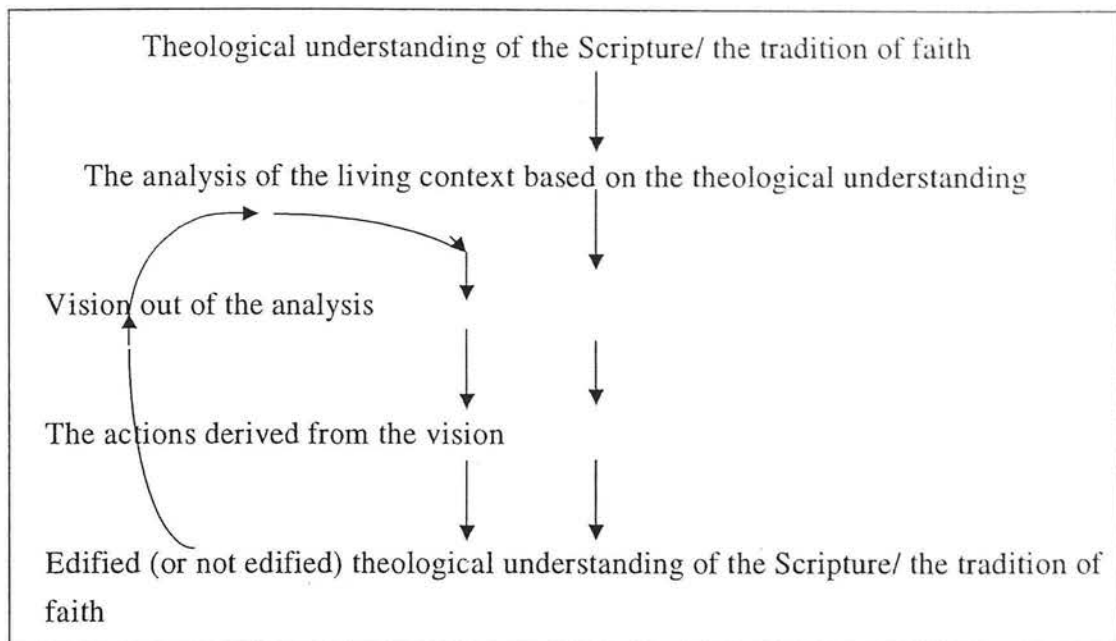
Fourthly, the dates and the contents of the three declarations are shown below:

Diagram of the Three Declarations Made by the PCT in the 1970s

Date	Declarations	Purpose
Dec. 29, 1971	Statement on Our National Fate	The fate of Taiwan should and could only be decided by people in the land.
Nov. 18, 1975	Our Plea	Government should give freedom of belief to people
Aug. 16, 1977	A Declaration on Human Rights	The human rights for Taiwanese to make their own decisions for the future of their country

Finally, the PCT, before becoming involved in political participation, had analysed the socio-political living context.⁷⁶ The process of analysis, which the PCT was engaged in was from theological understanding of the Scripture/ the tradition of faith - the analysis of the living context based on the theological understanding - vision out of the analysis - the actions derived from the vision as showed below:

⁷⁶ Lyall, *Integrity of Pastoral Care*, p. 35.



This process confirmed what Jennings said with respect to the function of pastoral practice, “pastoral practice provides a norm as well as a source for theological reflection and formulation.”⁷⁷ It means that although practical concrete pastoral caring activities were deriving from the theological understanding of the document of faith, the formation of the theological perspective of a pastoral theology also needed to be tested and modified by the events which happened in the context of people’s real life.⁷⁸

After we have given the case of the Presbyterian Churches in Taiwan as an illustration of a pastoral theology in Taiwan, it can be understood how a theological reflection is practically applied and then adapted to deal with the challenges and problems faced in real life. To conclude the discussion of this chapter we now draw from the above analysis some principles of a contextualized pastoral theology as the following:

⁷⁷ The diagram and the quotation are from Theodore Jennings, “Pastoral Theological Methodology” in *Dictionary of Pastoral Care and Counselling*, p. 863.

⁷⁸ This is consistent with what has been explicated in section II-1 regarding Lyall’s description of what a theology of pastoral care should be: a theology of pastoral care in practice and application needs “interpretation and analysis of the current social/political reality” in the hope that the analysis “can bring about a transforming power in practice more congruent with what their God called them to be” (section II-1).

- (1). Pastoral theology in any context needs to include two perspectives: a theological perspective, which is derived from the document of faith, and a pastoral perspective, which is about the caring for the people in the living context.
- (2). In practising pastoral theology, time and context may change, the focus of caring strategy may be different, but the theological convictions need to be in accordance with the tradition of faith. For the PCT, the goal of their pastoral theology derived from the Bible under the watchword is "Let all the glory be to God".
- (3). The principles derived from the Bible should be practised in real life, in a specific context. Contextualisation is necessary, for the influence of cultural complexity on doing theology in a missionary situation has been thoroughly discussed by nineteenth century missionaries.
- (4). To contextualise a pastoral theology, the local people's experiences, stories, and sayings are what count, for they are helpful in recovering the dignity of a formally colonised people. The purpose of a contextualized pastoral theology is to make disciples of the Taiwanese in their own God-given culture and history and to connect the church with the people and the land in a salvific way.⁷⁹
- (5). The essence of this strategy is to participate in the life context and to identify with people in the community. It means to take initiatives to participate in their life, to understand their background, to affirm their strong points, to acknowledge their weaknesses, to accept the way they act.⁸⁰ It requires reflecting on how to convey the gospel in a way which is acceptable/suitable for them. This does not mean to accept all they do uncritically, nor does it mean compromising the essence of the principles of faith.⁸¹ Rather, it is through generous and sacrificial offering or giving, learned from the example of the Lord Jesus Christ, to meet the needs of the people in the community. Therefore,

⁷⁹ Huang, 台灣本土神學講話 (*Talks on the Contextualization Theology of Taiwan*), pp. 59-63.

⁸⁰ Wu Chhong Wang, 台灣本土文化談道的探討 (*A Study of Contextualising Evangelism*), pp. 18-19.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 18-19.

the PCT in contextualising their pastoral theology did not make the culture absolutised. They let the standard of the Bible function as an ethical norm.⁸²

- (6). The PCT's judgment of the socio-political situation was that right after the war, the need of the people in Taiwan was to seek spiritual guidance and providence for their community. After 1960s, in particular in 1970s and 80s, the need of the Taiwanese was to learn the righteousness of God's demand and to help form an opposition party to be against the domineering political situation in Taiwan.⁸³
- (7). The principle of democracy for the individual churches to practise their pastoral activities is important. The local churches have to make their own decisions, though under the overarching theological perspective of the PCT, regarding the priority of mission in their own particular situation.⁸⁴
- (8). Such a pastoral theology in its pastoral perspectives will not be static. It will need to adjust itself from time to time out of an awareness of the needs of people. To use Lyall's expression, it is an on-going activity of the church in the light of its own praxis.⁸⁵
- (9). There is a future-oriented factor in the PCT's pastoral theology. From experiencing the practice, then returning to check the theology, the church will advance, ever ready to search for new ways which are more faithful to the will of God.⁸⁶ The need for analysis and checking is not only for the sake of

⁸² Lesslie Newbigin in "Culture and Theology" asked some questions regarding issue of culture: 'Would all "Contextualisation" and "Inculturation" lead to the problem of relativism?', 'Is there any superculture norms?', and 'Are all claims to knowledge including knowledge of God so culturally determined that there is no criterion of truth?'. Our study of the PCT's pastoral theology perhaps can provide an answer for these questions. Leslie Newbigin, "Culture and Theology" in Alistair E. McGrath (ed.), *The Blackwell Encyclopedia of Modern Christian Thought* (Massachusetts: Blackwell, 1993), p. 100.

⁸³ Regarding more detailed information of the PCT's pastoral works in Taiwan in the period of 1970s, 80s and 90s, and a further exploration of how the PCT make the Bible their norm to teach the young generation in their country, please see Hsiu-Yu Li, "Pastoral Theology in the Context of Taiwan since the End of the Second World War", Dissertation of Master of Theology, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University, 2001), section II-2-C and II-1-(1).

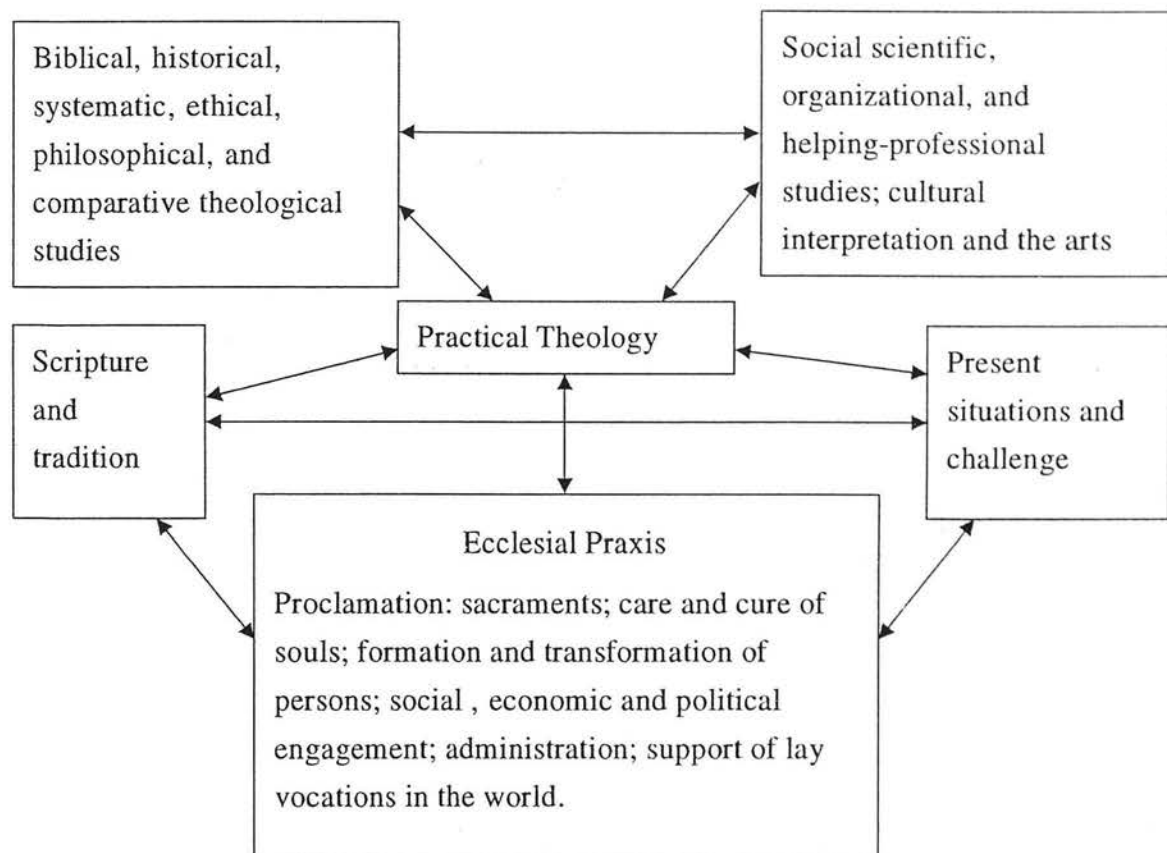
⁸⁴ This principle is more clearly seen in the period after 1987 when the local churches of the PCT started to move forward for their own parish ministry. Li, "Pastoral Theology in the Context of Taiwan since the End of the Second World War", section II-2-C.

⁸⁵ Lyall, *Integrity of Pastoral Care*, p. 35.

⁸⁶ John Patton, *Pastoral Care in Context: An Introduction to Pastoral Care* (Westminster: John Knox Press, 1989), p. 238.

adjustment to the community, but also for the future modification and development of pastoral theology.⁸⁷

The above characteristics of the PCT's pastoral caring activities are derived from the contextualized interaction between their faith tradition and understandings from other fields of study such as politics in social science. These characteristics can also explain James Fowler's chart of practical theology that we draw in the below as our conclusion for the illustration of the pastoral theology, the pastoral theology of the Presbyterian Churches in Taiwan.⁸⁸



⁸⁷ In making adjustment, it will need democratic administrative guidance, recognition of the different gifts and weaknesses of individual churches and of their willingness to make changes. Li, "Pastoral Theology in the Context of Taiwan since the End of the Second World War", section II-1-(4). Here we need to emphasize that from the story of the PCT, we learned that To change does not necessarily mean to grow. But to change is the cost of growth. An open mind is necessary for a growing church, as is shown by their new children's ministry (Li, M. Th. Thesis II-2-C). Edmer Towns, *10 of Today's Most Innovative Churches* (創新與增長: 美國十大創新增長教會) (Chinese version), (Taipei: Tian Ng, 1993), p. 21.

⁸⁸ James Fowler, "Toward a Practical Theology of Pastoral Care" in Don S. Browning (ed.), *Faith Development and Pastoral Care* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1987), pp. 13-25, p. 19. While Jennings' chart emphasizes the adjustment and modification of a pastoral theology to the macro living surroundings, Fowler's chart focuses more on the interaction of the practical practice of a theology with the understanding and knowledge from the other fields.

From what we have seen the above examination and illustration of the stories of the Presbyterian Churches in Taiwan, we can assess how they fit into Fowler's chart of interaction among different fields of practices that is supposed for what a practical theology should be. Namely, the PCT's practice of their pastoral caring activities:

- (1). often derives from multiple interactions with various fields of studies such as Biblical, historical and ethical studies (on the left of the chart)
- (2). has social scientific and helping-professional orientation (right of the diagram)
- (3). based on Scripture and the tradition of the faith
- (4). relate to the present situation
- (5). meets the challenge of the living circumstances (right and bottom of the diagram) and
- (6). has ecclesial praxis that has the goals of cure and transformation of the persons and socio-political and economic engagement in the society in which they live, etc.

As for the more detailed discussion of Fowler's chart for what a practical theology is supposed to be, we will have a further comparative analysis in chapter five.⁸⁹

However, this comparative analysis can only be discussed after we have explored the pastoral caring activities of the major case study of this thesis, the case of the Garden of Hope, an institution that provides pastoral care for the girl prostitutes in Taiwan. After we have studied what the Garden of Hope has done for the prostituted girls in Taiwan (Chapter III and IV), we will analyse how the pastoral caring activities of the Garden of Hope also fits into Fowler's description of a practical theology.

The approach the PCT adopts in their political participation influences the Garden of Hope's caring for their clients. We will examine closely in our case study, chapter three and four. For now we need to explore another related theme of this thesis, the issues of power in sociological studies, their application in the context of Taiwan, and interaction with the Biblical tradition.

⁸⁹ See Chapter V.

Chapter II. Power: Some Major Themes in the Sociological Study of Power -- Literature Survey, Applications in the Context of Taiwan and Interaction with the Biblical Tradition

Introduction

In this chapter, we are going to explore what “power” is in sociological studies, and how powers function in various human relationships. Human beings are born and live with in all kinds of relationships such as being a citizen of a country, a child in a family, and in other settings such as the boss of a company or the teacher of a class at school. Even in the animal kingdom relationships between different members of the group are established and maintained by the exertion of the powerful’s will over the weaker. In order to have relationships it seems that issues of power are inevitable. So since humans have had a gregarious social structure issues of power have permeated the relationships each individual has with others and the society as a whole. For instance, there is legitimate authority conferred on some specific roles. The authorities of these roles are conferred along with the responsibilities to care for the benefit of the objects/people who are powered over/cared for in the performance of their roles, specificities, professions etc. For example parents are supposed to love and discipline their children, teachers are supposed to teach students and collectively the government to govern their citizens, or the church as an institution to give spiritual guidance for local churches and local churches to individual members.

However, when the power conferred to the individuals or institutions is not used properly, though not necessarily with bad intent, cases of abused power happen and the individuals in those situations are disempowered. These cases are such as, collectively, in politics, a tyrannical government, in church, a corrupt patriarchal hierarchy, and individually, in the family, child abuse and family violence. All these abused power forms have hindered people from becoming what they are supposed to be as God’s people in their different developmental stages such as being a child in the family, a youth in a competitive school, and an adult in a capitalist society.

Among sociologists’ studies on issues of power, power is described by James Mackey as a “myth”,¹ and Steven Lukes finds it difficult to determine its definition.²

¹ James Mackey, *Power and Christian Ethics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 3.

² Steven Lukes, (ed.), *Power* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1986), p. 4; Mackey, *Power and Christian Ethics*, p. 4.

This issue is also not explored very much in the Church. The reason for its not being investigated much by the Church may be as Sykes says, that, though digging into the problem is necessary, once it is explored it may make the Church embarrassed.³ Martyn Percy finds that it will benefit the Church to study power issues. Percy brings insights from theology, sociology and political science to bear on questions of power. He finds that they provide a master key for unlocking core dilemmas in the Church's self-understanding, and pointing a way towards a relevant ecclesiology for the twenty-first century. For these reasons, he challenges the Church to reflect on the power issue within her own institutions, as he says in *Power and the Church*:

Questions about power have become central for Christians in recent years. If the Church is called to take the side of the marginalized and powerless, why is it so difficult for it to come to terms with its own increasing marginalisation and powerlessness in the closing years of the twentieth century? ⁴

Knowing it is difficult and yet important to explore the issue of power in the church, for the development of the Church, it is the purpose of this thesis to argue that power struggle is a fundamental pastoral task for the care of people in the church. In terms of power, there may be various theories and themes in different fields of study such as in sociology, anthropology and politics. Since this thesis is intended to be an inter-disciplinary study between pastoral theology and sociological study of power, we will address theories of power from the sociological perspectives.

First, we will explore the nature of power, namely, "What is power?" and "How does it function?" (II-1) After defining what we mean by "power" in this thesis according to sociological findings, in the succeeding sections we shall explore further some major themes in the study of power in the field. The themes that often appear as power are exercised in all kinds of people's relationships (II-2 onward).

In section II-2 we will discuss the powers that exercise through the agencies in the collective domain of which the juridical regulations have much influence on the life of people, the girl prostitutes as well. We will examine the relationship between power and legitimacy, how the authorities in human society are granted (Weber's

³Stephen Sykes, "Episcopate and Power in the Church" in *Unashamed Anglicanism*. (London: Darton, Longman & Todd Ltd., 1995), p. 187.

⁴ Martyn Percy, *Power and the Church*, Introduction in the back cover of the book.

concept), what is meant by governmentality in sociological studies, and how people in the collective society should be alert to the claim of “for the common good” by the authority in their governmentality (Foucault) (II-2).

In section II-3, we will explore the concept of ideology. We will try to find the answers for the questions such as “What is ‘ideology’ in sociological studies?”, “What is its importance in people’s life?”, “How it is formed?” and “Can its formation be manipulated and how does its formation relate to issues of power?”

Section II-4 is on the issues of subjectivity and its relationship with power. Subjectivity has its special connotation and importance in sociological studies. It is important for an individual because to own individual subjectivity means to have a claim on the issues relate to the self. It is also a guidepost to distinguish between an autonomic governmentality and a tyrannical one. The former allows people who are under its governing to assert their subjective opinion, while the later refrains from it. Therefore the research questions we are going to answer in this section are: (1) What does it exactly mean that an individual has their subjectivity? (2) How important is it in the individual’s life in the society? (3) Is the individual’s subjectivity inborn or influenced by the powers outside of the self? And (4) how does its formation and function relate to issue of power?

Section II-5 is for the discussions of the norms in the society and the discipline and punishment that are granted to people who are deemed as falling outside of the norm in the society, namely, the deviant. In a society, there are often people who may behave in a way that are not categorized into the traditional norms, and therefore are deemed as “the deviant”. These deviants are usually punished for not being conformed to the traditional norms. Our research questions then are: (1) Is being a deviant a form of resistance to the dominating power no matter what form it is? (2) In what way they are viewed as “deviant”? Or according to what mentality or ideology are they labelled as what they are? (3) Do these deviants have some characteristics for them to be labelled as such? (4) Does the labelling have anything to do with the individual’s assertion of the subjectivity and their search for personal freedom? (5) Is there anything relating to power in the determination of “what is a deviant behaviour”? (6) Do they deserve the punishments that are executed upon them? (7) Does “the deviant” have anything to do with resisting the prevailing norms in the society?

After the above exploration on the issues of power in human relationship, collective or individual, we will also try to find out how issues of power influence women's life in general (II-6). How women are treated as objects has its long history in human society, how in modern times there are people making effort to lift the status of women in their societies and what it is like for those elite women who have a higher position in their working place and in the contemporary society in general.

The relevance of the above themes of power in sociological studies to the targeted clients of our case study in chapter three and four, the girl prostitutes, is that the concepts in these sections can give us insight to some of the reasons that make some women and girls prostitutes. Furthermore, in the last section of each theme, we also examine how these themes also appear in Taiwanese life as an example.

After we have explored the above themes of power from sociological perspective and the contextual reflections of them from the socio-cultural background of Taiwan, we will also examine these themes in life of people in Biblical times to see whether these themes were also reflected in the description of the tradition of faith. After we have done these sections in this chapter we then will draw a conclusion for the *theological perspective* of the pastoral theology that we want to propose in this thesis.⁵

The above is the logical reasoning for the structure of this chapter; however, in exploring these themes, we find there are limits in such an exploration. First, we need our reader to keep in mind while reading this chapter that this chapter is only dealing with the theological reflection of the pastoral theology we propose for this thesis. As for the practical practice of the pastoral caring activities we will leave them until our case study in chapter three and four. Secondly, we need to point out that under each theme of power, there can be enormous quantities of material to be addressed. But we are limited in the multiple concerns of the whole thesis; we can only select the materials that we deem the most relevant to our later case study of the Garden of Hope and not try to cover all the related issues of each theme. Hopefully, our readers can be aware of the above limits while at times feeling not satisfied with the breadth or depth of what is explored in this chapter.

⁵ This chapter is from a sociological perspective to integrate with the tradition of faith as the theological frame of the pastoral theology we are going to propose. As for the second element of a pastoral theology, the caring activities, this will be examined in our case study of Garden of Hope in chapter III and IV.

II-1. What is Power? -- Definitions of “Power”

What is power? Many sociologists have acknowledged the difficulties in describing it. One does not have to read many different authors writing on “power” to see that there are many difficulties in pinpointing what this term actually means. In what follows, we merely list some of their comments on the difficulties of defining “power” in studying “power”:

Duke, in addressing conflict and power in social life comments that

Power has been and remains today one of the most difficult sociological concepts to define and measure... It becomes obvious to see why sociologists and political scientists have found power to be such a difficult concept to utilize effectively⁶.

Walter Wink has written three books on the issue of power. However, in the beginning of one of his books, Wink has explained that his readers won’t be able to find a specific definition from the book, for it is one of those terms that everyone understands perfectly well until asked to define it.

The reader of this work will search in vain for a definition of power. For it is one of those terms that everyone understands perfectly well until asked to define it. Sociologists and political scientists generally complain that no one (prior to their writing) has ever provided an adequate definition, but the definitions they offer are in turn rejected by others.⁷

However, even though having seen the difficulties of defining what the “power” is, scholars in sociological study still try to define the term “power”. Here we also list some of them:

The International Encyclopaedia of Sociology defines power based on Weber’s classic definition, as “the probability that one actor within a social relationship will be in a position to carry out his will despite resistance regardless of the basis on

⁶ T. James Duke, *Conflict and Power in Social Life* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University, 1976), p. 40.

⁷ Wink, *Naming the Powers: The Language of Power in the New Testament*, Introduction, p. 3.

which this probability rests.”⁸

Dennis Wrong comes out of a definition from the point of view of “power and the effect of its function”: Power is “the capacity of some persons to produce intended results and foreseen consequences on others.”⁹

On the other hand, the *Encyclopaedia of Sociology* has a more complicated definition, which states power from the perspective of interpersonal relationship, and which emphasizes it as a cause of any change:

In its broadest sense, interpersonal power refers to any cause of any change in the behaviour of one actor, B, which can be attributed to the effect of another actor, A. ... and

Interpersonal power is therefore the power of one individual ‘over’ another as opposed to an individual’s power to do something, the capacity of an actor to attain some goal...

‘Power over’ always implies a relation between two actors rather than referring to an attribute of an actor. It is sometimes thought of as ‘micro’ power...¹⁰

James Mackey rephrases Lukes’ notion on power in human relationship and views power as a means for both the individual and collective society to achieve goals, individually for people to fulfil personal intentions while at the same time overcoming resistance along the way, and collectively to maintain communal interests in a social system:

Power is that which achieves the realisation of one’s intentions and will, affecting to that end one’s own behaviour and that of others, and overcoming resistance in both cases. It is frequently a function of

⁸ Michael Mann, (ed.), *The International Encyclopedia of Sociology* (New York: Continuum, 1984), pp. 300-302.

⁹ Dennis Wrong, *Power: Its Forms, Bases and Uses* (New York: Harper and Row, 1979), p. 35.

¹⁰ Morris Zelditch, JR., “Interpersonal power” in Edgar F. Borgatta, editor-in-chief, *Encyclopedia of Sociology*. Vol. 2 (New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, 1992), p. 994.

social systems by which it is communicated and propagated to the advancement of collective interests.¹¹

Nevertheless, Percy has a very inclusive description of “Power” which includes the perspectives of disposition, episode, and phenomenon:

Power is a multi-faceted reality... It is the force that applies itself through and reifies itself via agents (tools). It can be dispositional, in the form of ideas, manners, boding and unity. It can also be episodic, in the form of specific instances, interventions and moments. It is a phenomenon present within all epistemological and social frameworks, usually encountered via its agents rather than the source itself. Apart from the power of God, power is a function of systems of social interaction; power is one of the important means of social organization... Agents can be people, instances, doctrines, situations, and so on...¹²

Percy further advanced from the above definition of power to explain that the function of an agent of power is to provide the access and/or set the boundary for the exercise of the power within a specific social structure:

Within a given world view, agents are the nodal or fixed points that reify power or allow access to power, provide markers or boundaries for a circuit (group, identity, etc.), and ensure the connectedness of the power relationships. Charisma can be an agent as much as an individual doctrine and each agent will have its own structure made up of other nodal points.¹³

From the above examination we can know that each scholar can only define power from some specific perspective. Since Percy’s definition of power and its agency is very inclusive, covering many perspectives of its function, in the discussion of this thesis the use of “power” will mainly derive from Percy’s descriptions of “power”. Namely, the word “power” in this thesis is used in a comprehensive way and connotes the existence of a force that can be dispositional, episodic, or phenomenal

¹¹ Mackey, *Power and Christian Ethics*, p. 2.

¹² Percy, *Power and the Church*, p. 73.

¹³ Ibid., p. 73.

according to its context and is functioning through agents in a social system, structure or relationship which is its territory or domain.



II-2. Power in the Collective Domain—the legitimate authority and governmentality

II-2.1. Legitimacy and Authority: the Authority from Legitimacy

In the study of power in sociology, there is power granted to the authority to run or to execute the projects or public affairs entrusted by the people in the society.

In the *International Encyclopedia of Sociology*, authority is defined as a kind of domination that is accepted by the dominated and therefore is legitimate:

“Domination which the dominated accept as legitimate, in terms of their values, is usually called authority.”¹⁴

In the *Encyclopedia of Sociology* it also states that

Authority refers to a claim that the power imposer has a legitimate right to expect compliance from the recipient, even if compliance runs counter to the recipient’s own preferences.¹⁵

The second definition in the *Encyclopedia of Sociology* has explicated another important point in the exercise of the power regarding authority: it does not necessarily satisfy every person in the society; there may be times when the interests of some of the mass will need to be suppressed.

However, it is worth noting that such authority is only granted to the post, not the person in the position. In other word, even though the person in the post seems to have power to execute public projects, when the person leaves the post, he/she will be deprived of the power held in this regard along with the post itself. On the other hand, in the collective domain, if the person as a power holder in a post or a status is considered legitimate – in other words, if the power is granted through the consent or agreement of the public – the exercise of power then can be justified, otherwise it will be thought of as arbitrary and dissident opinion will be evoked easily. Mann in *The International Encyclopedia of Sociology* states that

¹⁴ Michael Mann, (ed.), *The International Encyclopedia of Sociology*, p. 301,

¹⁵ From Morris Zelditch, JR., “Interpersonal Power” in Edgar F. Borgatta, editor-in-chief, *Encyclopedia of Sociology* (New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, 1992), vol. 2, pp. 994-1000, pp. 994. For the more detailed concepts of authority, influence and control please reference Chester I. Barnard, *The Functions of the Executive* (Cambridge: Harvard University, 1938).

All systems of power and privilege seek to establish themselves as legitimate, that is, morally justifiable, in the eyes of the subordinate and disadvantaged... legitimating beliefs secure the latter's consent to the exercise of power, promote stability and minimize the costs of coercion.¹⁶

Justification for the use of power is therefore very important for the authority holder. But is there any restriction for the use of legitimate authority once it is granted to the position holder? In another word, is there any principle for the conferring of power from the public? We will have a close look at these issues next.

II-2.2. Restriction of the Use of Authority

Legitimacy gives the person in the position authority to exercise power, but on the other hand this means there are restrictions on the use of power, too. The power granted by the public is supposed to be for the purpose of executing any projects that benefit the mass; if not, the credibility of the legitimacy will be questioned and this may result in distrust of the exercise of power by the person in the post.

Legitimizing ideas not only reinforce the exercise of power but also set limits to systems of power: power holders cannot do just as they please... Most justifications for power incorporate claims to promote the wellbeing of the subordinate. If these claims repeatedly fail to be realized, a progressive loss of legitimacy will result... There comes a point, however, when they can only be preserved by the widespread use of coercion. Even the most repressive systems require legitimacy in the eyes of their own administrative and coercive apparatus; if this also fails, disintegration is the inevitable result.¹⁷

Thus, there is the need to make their exercise of authority legitimate, for any entity that tries to hold the power of authority, in the thoughts of the subordinated. If they fail to do so but still want to have power over the subordinated, the use of force will eventually be unavoidable in order to defeat the resisting power to that legitimacy. How to avoid the cost of using force to suppress counter opinions but to gain the submission from the subordinate is hence a subtle issue to the holder of the power of

¹⁶ Mann, (ed.), *The International Encyclopedia of Sociology*, p. 204.

¹⁷ Mann, (ed.), *The International Encyclopedia of Sociology*, P. 204.

authority.

A. P. D'Entreves, the author of *The Notion of the State*,¹⁸ also asserts that authority is granted by the public to exercise for the welfare of the public, not for the pursuit of the self-interests of the power holder in the position; and this also becomes the restriction of the exercise of authority in any post. When such a purpose fails, and the authority is no longer deemed to be legitimate, the counter opinion will rise. By then, the authority holders may think they need to use the force to cope with it. Therefore, it is a dynamic process for the authority holders in the execution of their authority to move between the uses of authority and coercive force.

II-2.3. Weber's Ideal Types of Authority

Weber distinguished three ideal types of authority by the ground on which they claimed their legitimacy to exercise power:

1. Rational-legal authority such as bureaucracy rested upon 'a belief in the legality of enacted rules and the right of those elevated to authority under such rules to issue commands.' The authority granted to officers in governmental posts is an example of this type.
2. Traditional authority originated from 'an established belief in the sanctity of immemorial traditions and the legitimacy of those exercising authority under them.' Cases of this type of authority are such as the power granted to revolutionary patriarchal heroes
3. Charismatic authority rested upon 'devotion to the exceptional sanctity, heroism or exemplary character of an individual person, and of the normative patterns or order revealed or ordained by him.'¹⁹ This type of authority can often be seen in many religious leaders.

The pastoral care giver's involvement in the power struggle for people for whom they care is based on the second and third types of authority. But for the discussion of this point we will wait until we come to the case study later in this thesis. For the time being, here we just give a brief description for a general understanding of theories of power in sociology. Now we need to turn to another important point of power that relates to authority; governmentality.

¹⁸ A. P. D'Entreves, *The Notion of the State* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1967), p. 4.

¹⁹ Mann, (ed.), *The International Encyclopedia of Sociology*, p. 301.

II-2.4. Authority, Power and Governmentality

As we have discussed in the previous section the justification for the use of power in authority is the common recognition that the exercise of the power is for the wellbeing of the subordinated.²⁰ If the public have come to discover the failure of the claims for the common good, a progressive loss of trust in the legitimacy of authority will result. Therefore, it is an important task for the ruling class, whatever entities they appear as to the public, to continue finding ways to persuade the public of the legitimacy of the ruling class.

According to Mann, one of the major ways of justifying the ruling class is usually through the fabrication of the consciousness of the subordinated. The ruling class disseminate their own preferred ideas or opinions into some concepts and make them prevail in the society they rule or govern. In this way the subordinated accept the prevailing ideas or opinions in the society seemingly of their own accord, and yet it is actually what the ruling class prefer them to have or to choose.²¹ Such a process is an intricate art and very often it contains the power holder's hidden motivation.

Michel Foucault has been aware of the possible hidden intentions and intrigues of the exercise of power by any "legitimate authority". He has endeavoured to address such subtlety and the techniques of the governmentality of the governing body. By "governmentality" Foucault says that he means three things:

1. The ensemble formed by the institutions, procedures, analyses, and reflections, the calculations and tactics that allow the exercise of this very specific albeit complex form of power, which has as its target population, as its principal form of knowledge political economy, and as its essential technical means apparatuses of security.
2. The tendency that, over a long period and throughout the West, has steadily led toward the pre-eminence over all other forms (sovereignty, discipline, and so on) of this type of power—which may be termed 'government'—resulting, on the one hand, in the formation of a whole series of specific governmental apparatuses,

²⁰ Ref. section II-2.3.

²¹ Mann, (ed.), *The International Encyclopedia of Sociology*, p. 204.

and on the other, in the development of a whole complex of knowledge.

3. The process or, rather, the result of the process through which the state of justice of the Middle Ages transformed into the administrative state during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and gradually becomes 'governmentalized.'²²

In brief, what Foucault means by Governmentality was (1) all the components that constitute the exercise of power by the governing body, (2) the function of these components interacting with each other and (3) the result of the historical processes of formation of the present governing apparatus.

According to Foucault, what needs to be paid attention to is that we are not only ruled by law, but also by the whole apparatus set by the powerful, whatever it is, even though in his discourse he uses the state governmental apparatus to make his illustration. In an interview, Foucault made his point very sarcastically:

...programs, technologies, apparatuses—none of these is an 'ideal type.' I try to study the play and development of a set of diverse realities articulated onto each other; a program, the connection that explains it, the law that gives it its coercive power, and so on, are all just as much realities—albeit in a different mode—as the institutions that embody them or the behaviours that more or less faithfully conform to them.

You say to me: nothing happens as laid down in these 'programs,' they are no more than dreams, utopias, a sort of imaginary production that you aren't entitled to substitute for reality...²³

From the quotation we can see clearly that Foucault does not fully trust government's intentions in their designs of the programs for the people. With his suspicion about all the governmental functions of its apparatuses, Foucault claims to examine the formation and operation of these governing apparatuses and not just to notice the various functions of the authority constituted by power:

²² Michel Foucault, "Governmentality" in James D. Faubion, (ed.), *Power: Essential Works of Foucault 1954-84. vol. 3* (London: Penguin books, 2000), pp. 201-222, p. 219-220.

²³ Michel Foucault, "Question of Method" in James D. Faubion, (ed.), *Power: Essential Works of Foucault 1954-84. vol. 3* (London: Penguin Books, 2000), pp. 223-238, p. 232.

...But there is a second way of overvaluing the problem of the state, one that is paradoxical because it is apparently reductionist (*sic*): it is the form of analysis that consists in reducing the state to a certain number of functions, such as the development of productive forces and the reproduction of relations of production, and yet this reductionist (*sic*) vision of the relative importance of the state's role nevertheless invariably renders it absolutely essential as a target needing to be attacked and a privileged position needing to be occupied... Maybe, what is really important for our modernity—that is, for our present—is not so much the statization (*sic*) of society, as the 'governmentalization' of the state.²⁴

In the above quotation Foucault has explicated the necessity of analyzing what lies behind what seem obviously right, important and beneficial in the exercise of governmental power and not just noticing what its apparent functions appeared. Smart has clearly pointed out the application of Foucault's questioning of the origin of legitimate authority, the power of the state, or the right of what he calls governmentality as follows:

...The implication is clear, to develop an understanding of power attention has to be given to the mechanisms, techniques, and procedures of power, literally to how power functions, only then will it be possible to see how at a precise conjunctural moment particular mechanisms of power became economically advantageous and politically useful... Proceeding in this manner analysis may reveal how it is that particular mechanisms, techniques and procedures of power have achieved a degree of economic and political utility (e.g. for a bourgeois ruling class or a state apparatus).²⁵

From the above description, it is clear that Foucault does not believe in an objectively functioning government within a mechanical structure or system as some sociologists may claim.²⁶ Rather, what he has observed is a very different one, a governing body that is full of various tactical strategies and plots for the economic

²⁴ Ibid., p. 220.

²⁵ Barry Smart, *Michel Foucault: An Introduction* (London: Routledge, 2002), p.79.

²⁶ Nicos Poulantzas, "The Problem of the Capitalist State", *New Left Review*, Vol. 58 (Nov-Dec 1969), pp. 67-78, and Timothy O'Hagan, (trans. & ed.), *Political Power and Social Classes* (London: N.L.B. and Sheed & Ward, 1973).

and political agendas.

Foucault's suspicion of governmentality has been broadly adopted and adapted as the method of criticizing or questioning many established institutional or organizational ideologies. Those ideologies are thought of as forming the basis of the values of a system or culture, but are under suspicion as possibly only paving the way for the powerful to advance their own interests. Next we shall give an example of how important such suspicion is in discerning how power is exercised in the power relationship between a government and its people.

II-2.5. Assessment: A Reflection from the Context of Taiwan

The need for legitimacy to rule a country is often the main purpose of political revolution in Taiwan (or even in the world). At the end of the Second World War, the KMP (Kou Min Party) evacuated from China to Taiwan. Since then KMP has claimed that it is the legitimate ruling body of the country, including China. Such a self claimed authority certainly could not silence many of the subversive Taiwanese. Hence there occurred the incident of 228 (Ref. I-3. An Illustration of Pastoral Theology) in which thousands of Taiwanese, most of them among the elite of society, were slaughtered by the KMP army and police without specific reasons, and which caused long term conflicts between Taiwanese and the mainlanders. For fifty years, the press and media of the countries were almost totally controlled by the power of governments. People in Taiwan could not hear opinions different from what the KMP government wanted them to hear.

Furthermore, to further legitimize their rule, KMP deliberately started from primary education and put into the school textbooks some ideologies that can justify their governing people in Taiwan. All these past events can be easily found in the recently published historical books regarding the past of Taiwan. The three declarations of the PCT mentioned in Chapter I resulted from their awareness of KMP government's disguised intention. The PCT risked their lives to try to enlighten the Taiwanese people about the real situation Taiwan faced in the global political world, namely that Taiwan has been for a long time an independent entity from China,²⁷ therefore has no right and no need to claim the right of "ruling or governing China", and vice

²⁷ It means that Taiwan has been long time to have its own government, people, territory, constitution and currency. Here we use the term, "entity", instead of "country" because Taiwan has not been recognized as an independent country in united Nation yet.

versa.²⁸ Therefore, they urged the KMP government to lift the ban on martial law to give the Taiwanese people more freedom to speak for themselves, to protest about whatever they feel the need to protest against governmental policy etc.

From the above discussion of the history of Taiwan, we can affirm that it is necessary, as Foucault suggests, that a government's governmentality always needs to be examined with suspicion of the possibility of its self justification for its governmentality. And it would be adequate to say that such a principle can apply to any governing entities. In the next we then turn our focus to the functions of these values of a system or a culture that have been formed through some ideologies in a society and their relationship to the exercise of power.

²⁸ For more detailed Taiwanese history of this period please see chapter I-3 of this thesis, the Story of Presbyterian Churches in Taiwan after the Second World War II.

II-3. Power and the Formation of Ideologies

The meaning and uses of the term “ideology” in sociology are ambiguous. But because “ideology” is closely related to the use of power and the later discussion of the case study of this thesis, we shall limit our discussion on the topics that relate to issue of power. As it is mentioned in the introduction of this chapter that we will explore some concepts on ideology such as “What is ‘ideology’ in sociological studies?”, “What is its importance in people’s life?”, “How it is formed?” and “Can its formation be manipulated and how does its formation relate to issues of power?”

II-3.1. Origin and Definition of the Term “Ideology”

According to *A Critical Dictionary of Sociology*, it was Destutt de Tracy who first coined the term “ideology” at the end of eighteenth century. By using the word “ideology”, he was trying to describe a mental recognition, which he saw as the induced consequence of the materialist philosophy of Holbach and Helvetius and the sensate philosophy of Condillac.²⁹ For Marx the term refers to the “false consciousness” which results from the class position of social actors. To the Marxists, the appearance of social value systems or cultures in society is the product of powerful position holders who creating such systems with the sole purpose of serving their own interests. With Lenin the concept of ideology is adapted to a more positive connotation: “Ideologies are part of the panoply of antagonisms of the class struggle.”³⁰

Nevertheless, though the meaning of the term “ideology” has its classical origin and importance, for many of the sociologists, the term “ideology” is still very ambiguous and cannot be exactly pinpointed yet.

The multiplicity of meanings of the term ideology, and the difficulties created by the Marxian conception, explain why the concept is used relatively little outside the Marxian tradition of thought. But if the word is avoided by many sociologists, the issues covered by the obscure word are classically important to sociology...³¹

²⁹ Raymond Boudon & Francois Bourricaud, *A Critical Dictionary of Sociology*, Peter Hamilton, (trans. & ed.), (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1986), P. 207.

³⁰ Ibid., p. 207.

³¹ Ibid., p. 208.

Though it is not easy, in the following, we will try to give a definition or description of what “ideology” means from our survey of the sociological dictionaries. In general the term can be used to describe a set of commonly believed convictions, with respect to what is morally good or bad in attitudes, concepts or opinions, about almost everything in society. However, such convictions or beliefs are not necessarily verified or proved scientifically or fact based. The definition below is from *The Penguin Dictionary of Sociology*:

One of the most debated concepts in sociology, ideology may be provisionally defined as beliefs, attitudes and opinions which form a set, whether tightly or loosely related. The term has been used in three important senses: (a) to refer to very specific kinds of belief; (b) to refer to beliefs that are in some senses distorted or false; (c) to refer to any set of beliefs, covering anything from scientific knowledge, to religion, to everyday beliefs about proper conduct, irrespective of whether it is true or false.³²

And in *A Critical Dictionary of Sociology* the characteristics of ideology are described as observable presuppositions, beliefs or value systems which have somehow become social norms serving some political purposes or the destiny of that particular society and yet are different from one society or culture to another:

In all social systems it is observable that social actors believe in the truth of certain propositions... These beliefs, which naturally vary from one social system to another and ultimately from one group of social actors to another within the same social system... They are often called values when they have a normative character.... and on the other hand deals with some particular aspect of the political and social organization, of societies, or, more generally, of their destiny.³³

According to the analysis of *The Penguin Dictionary of Sociology*, in the Marxist literature, one of the characteristics of ideology is that ideologies are often distorted by class interests which are expressed tactically in the concepts of a dominant class

³² Abercrombie, Nicholas, Hill, Stephen & Turner, S. Bryan, “Ideology”, in *The Penguin Dictionary of Sociology* (London: Penguin Books, 1984), (no particular author’s name listed), pp. 118-119, p. 118.

³³ *A Critical Dictionary of Sociology*, p. 208.

and their false consciousness.³⁴ Though such a Marxist view is deemed somehow radical, nowadays many sociologists such as Foucault and his followers have accepted that there is tactical manipulation of the power holders, not necessarily because of class struggle, in the formation of some, if not all, of ideologies in the society. So, under such a presupposition, what is at stake is “by what mechanism are the distorted beliefs produced?” In the next we will have a look at this question.

II-3.2. The Power to Manipulate the Formation of Ideologies and the Challenge to the Formed Ideologies

As we have discussed in II-2, modern legitimate authority of governmentality is not determined by the motivation to obey but the belief that it is right to obey (ref. previous discussion on II-2. Legitimacy and Power). When that belief is challenged or questioned, the motivation to obey will be shaken and possible deviant behaviours will arise. But although the authority of the leader in the post is legitimized, they are not obliged to enforce conformity from their followers or the public to their commands. Therefore it is better for the benefits of the position holders, be they in the state or institutions, to gain a consensus from the public or the people who are governed by them.³⁵ And one of the main methods of gaining consensus from the governed is through the formation of ideologies to make the public believe that it is right and good to them to obey the rules or regulations set by the governing bodies. Sawicki has agreed with Foucault’s insight in pointing out the tactics used in the formation of certain attitudes and values in western society:

His (Foucault’s) critique of humanism and disciplinary power did imply that traditional categories and assumptions informing modern practices... that rooted in certain understanding of identity are dangerous... And in so far as the micro-practices of power that he described constitute a shared background of habits and dispositions that rarely questioned and in fact not really chosen in any conscious sense³⁶

In the section of governmentality, we have mentioned that Mann discerns that the

³⁴ *The Penguin Dictionary of Sociology*, p. 118.

³⁵ James T. Duke, *Conflict and Power in Social Life* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University, 1976), p. 47.

³⁶ Jana Sawicki, “Foucault and Feminism” in Michael Kelly, (ed), *Critique and Power* (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1994), pp. 347-364, p. 350.

governed or the subordinated are induced, without being aware of, to choose what the ruling classes prefer them to think or to do for the interests of the ruling classes, whereas he put it in a more concrete description. Here we quote his exact saying to explain more fully how the motives of the ruling class are tactically woven into the formation of ideologies in the society:

One of the major ways to justify for the ruling class is usually through the fabrication of the consciousness of the subordinated. The ruling class disseminated their own preferential ideas or opinions into some concepts and made them prevailing in the society they rule or govern. In this way the subordinated accept the prevailing ideas or opinions in the society seemingly out of their own willingness, and yet it is actually what the ruling class preferred them to have or to choose.³⁷

Therefore, in the formation of ideologies in the society there is a place for the use of power.

Foucault insightfully points out, knowledge or notions in society are not something pre-existing power and controls or from a value-free cultural perspective, but knowledge and power are intimately and productively related.³⁸ In the discourse of “truth and power” Foucault cynically connects the formation of truth, the convictions that the public believe as true, with manipulation by power holders through discourses and mechanisms in the society.³⁹ In the following quotation, we can see that what he means by the formation of the truth is in accord with what we have been exploring on the formation of ideologies:

Truth is a thing of this world: it is produced only by virtue of multiple forms of constraint. And it induces regular effects of power. Each society has its regime of truth, its ‘general politics’ of truth—that is, the types of discourse and function it accepts as true; the mechanisms and instances that enable one to distinguish true and false statements; the means by which each is sanctioned; the techniques and procedures

³⁷ Michael Mann, (ed.), “History and Sociology” in *The International Encyclopedia of Sociology* (New York: Continuum, 1984), p. 204.

³⁸ Michel Foucault, *Power/Knowledge*, Colin Gordon, (ed.), (New York: Pantheon Books, 1980), p. 59.

³⁹ In his discourse of truth we find that it can be analogous to the connotation of the ideologies we explored in II-2.

accorded value in the acquisition of truth; the status of those who are charged with saying what counts as true.⁴⁰

From the above discussion on the relationship between the formation of ideologies and power we can draw the following conclusions. First, ideologies can serve a function in society similar to what Read says about the functions of a cult, “the transmission of sentiments and values through successive generations and the confirmation of the absolute nature of group values and relationships... and other such contributions to social solidarity.”⁴¹ Second, there is a complexity in the processes of the formation of ideologies which relate to the use of power. That is why Foucault appeals to his readers to give more attention to the processes of their formation and how power is used in the processes, rather than to the formed notions enshrined in those ideologies. And third, however, it is difficult to challenge the formed ideologies and the notions they present, as Foucault is aware and describes below:

The fact that power is so deeply rooted and the difficulty of eluding its embrace are effects of all these connections. That is why the notion of repression which mechanisms of power are generally reduced to strikes me as very inadequate and possibly dangerous.⁴²

II-3.3. Assessment: a Reflection from the Context of Taiwan

As we have remarked in chapter I-3, regarding the historical background of Taiwan and the pastoral caring activities of the PCT after the Second World War, in that period of time KMP has campaigned for some ideologies to advance the legitimacy of their ruling Taiwan. Those ideologies were such as “we are preparing to re-gain our territory of Mainland China”, “we are going back to Mainland China soon” and “China is always seeking the opportunity to invade us”.⁴³ The slogan to express such an ideology was also very commonly seen on the walls of the streets as “Fighting

⁴⁰ Michel Foucault, *Power: Essential Works of Foucault 1954-1984* (New York: Penguin Putnam, 2002), p. 131.

⁴¹ K.E. Read, “Nama Cult of the Central Highlands, New Guinea.” *Oceania* 23: 1-25, 1952. p. 25

⁴² Michel Foucault, “Body/Power” in Colin Gordon, (ed.), *Power/Knowledge* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1980), p. 59.

⁴³ Hsiu-Yu Li, “Pastoral Theology of the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan after the Second World War”, p.25.

back to Mainland China to liberate our people from the hand of communist China.”⁴⁴ By imposing the concepts connoted in these ideologies, the KMP government then imposed martial law in Taiwan to limit the freedom of Taiwanese people, for example, the freedom to deliver speech against government in the public, to publish newspapers, and to run media companies including TV.⁴⁵

Other than political ideologies set by the government, another group of ideologies from traditional thought relates to the relationship between men and women and the status of women in the society of Taiwan has had great influence on women's life. Since this thesis is about pastoral caring activities for girl prostitutes in Taiwan (ref. later part of case study), we now turn our attention to exploring these ideologies that can affect these girls' and women's present and future lives in Taiwan.

First, it is said that in a family the husband is responsible for the family economics. With such an ideology, if there is a need to decide between husband and wife for who will go for higher education, it is very often the husband who gets the opportunity and the wife gives up her own opportunity to work to support the husband and family. However, after a few years, when the finances of the family can allow the wife to go for her own higher education, the suitable time for the wife to study for her own higher degree may have been passed. In a similar milieu, if the family cannot support all their children for higher education, it is always, with very few exceptions, the daughters who need to sacrifice their opportunities for the sons in the family regardless of any differences in intelligence among them.

Secondly, it is said in Taiwan that in searching for a mate, a woman is supposed to look for a man who is more intelligent than her or has higher education, at least no less than her own, or higher achievement in society. With such an ideology, women's opportunities are much lessened. And men often feel threatened if their partners' performance at school or work are more excellent than their own.

Thirdly, it is said that in a marriage a woman's age is not supposed to be older than her husband, or in a date match the man should be older than the woman. Perhaps there is a physical reason for such an old concept to be passed down through

⁴⁴ The Chinese Origin is “反攻大陸解救同胞”.

⁴⁵ Since then, similar bans on personal freedom through Marshall Law last for fifty years. Not until the PCT started to take a series of actions to revolt against the ideologies of “fighting back to mainland of China”, would the ban be lifted in 1987 (see the assessment in the next two sections, “subjectivity” and “punishment and the deviant”).

generations up to today. But with modern medical development and technologies, many difficulties in this regard should be able to be resolved. Though some exceptions do exist in which the wife is a few years older than the husband, yet with the prevailing ideology as described above, these women often cannot really overcome the embarrassing feeling, if not the shame, when both husband and wife appear at a public occasion. Even outsiders talk about such a match still with a surprised tone and manner rather than viewing it as an ordinary happening. Furthermore, there are many single women in the church due to the fact that in Taiwan more women than men tend to be members of church. It is still very seldom that when the match maker tries to arrange for them to meet some male friends, or when these women consider their life partners, they consider in the first place men who are a few years younger than them; while it is not unusual for a man in his old age such as seventies or eighties to marry a woman who may be thirty years younger than he is.

These ideologies have been prevalent in Taiwan since ancient times and therefore it is hard to trace what kind of power is behind these concepts to make them persist until today. What is certain is that, with the above three limitations of social ideologies in Taiwan;⁴⁶ regarding their education, social activities and searching for a life partner, a women's freedom is certainly constrained to a certain degree. Men's opportunities in these three regards are much wider, so to overcome the confinement of these ideologies that limits women's life needs courage and is a path fraught with difficulties.⁴⁷

It is difficult to challenge a formed ideology or value system in a society, but it is not impossible. In the following we will examine what characteristics are needed for a person to be able to carry out such a task (II-4), how it can be done and what cost the challenger needs to pay (II-5).

⁴⁶ Perhaps these are also seen in other countries in the world, but by the case study from Taiwan, we merely want to emphasize how the ideologies regarding the relationship between men and women can influence, in particular, Taiwanese women's, lives.

⁴⁷ Therefore, in the churches in Taiwan, we can often see some single women have not married, but very few single men in the same situation. Certainly, such a situation also relates to the fact that female members tend to be more than male members in the churches in Taiwan.

II-4. Power and Subjectivity

II-4.1 Why Explore “Subjectivity” in the Discussion of Power Issues?

There are very many themes related to power. The reason for selecting “subjectivity” for discussion in this thesis is that it is essential for the individual’s search for the self and individual freedom, and their relationship with others. As we mentioned in the introduction of this chapter, subjectivity is important for an individual because to own individual subjectivity means to have a claim on the issues that relate to the self. It is also a guidepost to distinguish between an autonomic governmentality and a tyrannical one (no matter whether it is of a government or an institution). The former allows people who are under its governing to assert their subjective opinion, while the later refrains from it.

But what is really meant by “subjectivity” and how is it formed? *The Penguin Dictionary of Sociology* says of “Subject/Subjectivity” that “The concept of ‘the subject’ in contemporary structuralism has a paradoxical and contradictory significance. The subject implies agency, action and authorship, but also subjection. Subjectivity...is the self-conscious awareness of subjects.”⁴⁸ How is a person’s subjectivity, or the self-awareness, formed? Is it inborn or derived from influences outside of the self?

In modern society many traditional thoughts and premises have been under re-examination. Such a re-examination is derived from a suspicion that those traditional thinking, values and norms have presupposed standards that were designated by the power holder or the governing entities. It means that many human thoughts that were inherited from tradition and social norms and that were deemed as right and as the principles or standards of their behaviour in society are in fact plotted by the power holder of their time. In this sense, even if they think they behave according to their subjective judgement, they are unaware that such a “subjective judgement” has been influenced by those plotted traditional ideologies and social norms. Consequently, some people argue that human subjectivity is not inborn but in many ways imposed from outside:

Recent developments in psychoanalysis, Marxism and structuralism

⁴⁸ “Subject/Subjectivity” in Nicholas Abercrombie, Stephen Hill and Bryan S. Turner, *The Penguin Dictionary of Sociology*, 2nd edn. (London: Penguin Books, 1984), p. 246.

have brought into question most traditional assumptions about subjective agency and the primacy of subjectivity... Therefore, subjectivity and self-consciousness are, in these approaches (i.e. Marxist), no longer seen as innate, a part of human nature, but as socially determined in different forms in different societies.⁴⁹

In other words, as long as human beings are unaware of the thoughts or values that have been imposed upon them, they have been deprived of some parts of their subjectivity.

However, such a process of the formation of the individual's subjectivity is in fact can be manipulated by the power holders, as Stephen Luke has suggested, that the power holders have subscribed, by some sorts of tactful techniques, the consequences they desire:

...where power is exercised unconsciously in this sense (i.e. in unawareness of its consequences), the assumption is being made that the exerciser or exercisers could, in the context, have ascertained those consequences.⁵⁰

To rephrase Luke's notion, what he means is that power has been exercised on people so that they are not consciously aware of what they have been induced to do. In other words, the powerful place suggestions in people's subjectivity and hence lead people's conduct, without their awareness, toward the direction they want. So in this sense the choice of how to behave is in fact not in people's hand, because their subjective freedom of making choices has been deprived without their knowing.

Therefore, there is a need to discern what are the imposed rationalities, what are the parts which the powerful want the powerless to think is how to behave. But, how to discern, and even if discerned, how to detach them from "what we have become" or "what we are" is then an important question for modern individuals. The quest to answer this question is closely related to contemporary liberal thought. We shall explore it in the next section.

⁴⁹ Ibid., p. 246.

⁵⁰ Steven Lukes, *Power: A Radical View* (London: Macmillan, 1974), p.52.

II-4.2. Individual's Subjectivity and Liberal Thought

According to Fitzsimons, contemporary liberal thought is closely connected to the search for individual freedom in making decisions. Even though there may be differences in many schools of liberalism as in other theoretical approaches, the foci for liberalism, from the conservative to the progressive ends of the spectrum, are the individual's freedom, rationality, equality and their relationship with any legitimate authority.

Liberalism is the major public discourse that underpins the law in many western countries. Its tenets are freedom, rationality, equality, and individualism, but how these are worked out in practice is, of course, a matter of creative contest. At the 'conservative' end of the liberal spectrum, legitimate authority is seen as central and society is thought of as a liberal democratic framework. At the 'progressive' end of the liberal spectrum is a philosophy that wants government out of the lives of individual citizens. In all versions of liberalism there are claims about the rights of individuals in preferences to authoritarian rule.⁵¹

Fitzsimons further stated that rationality is fundamental to liberalism not only because humans are essentially rational by nature, but also because they deem that all beliefs should be open to rational scrutiny. Consequently, for liberalism, the mechanism of the functions and structures of social institutions and even the idea of authority itself need to be scanned, and therefore can be sustained only if they can withstand rational investigation.

On the other hand the claim for the individual subjectivity relates to the concept of objectivity. The liberal position on justice is that it does not represent the interests of any particular group, but claims to provide a neutral framework to support pluralism. It is supposed to be neutral to question the prevailing ideologies or norms of the society (ref. section II-3). "Neutral stand is claimed for the ground of law for people from different backgrounds."⁵²

⁵¹ Patrick Fitzsimons, "Michel Foucault: Regimes of Punishment and the Question of Liberty" *International Journal of the Sociology of Law* (1999), 27, pp. 379-399, p. 380.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 381.

Even though Fitzsimons questions liberalism's appeal for the idealized role of the law to be independent of the interests of contending parties and their advocacy for individual freedom, we can consider what Marshall suggests about liberalism: "[it] may be better to see liberalism, not as a set of basic ideas or principles, but, rather, as an attitude of mind".⁵³ What Marshall means by "an attitude of mind" is that the individual should have the kind of mentality to re-claim their subjective rationality for what they prefer as valuable and what they want to become or how to behave and not just to follow what they were taught or informed to do. Marshall's concept of individual liberal thinking is similar to Foucault's theory of the individual's search for the self and the possible objectification of human being. We explore this in the next section.

II-4.3. Foucault's Theory on Objectification of the Individual and the Individual's Search for the Self and Personal Freedom

In an interview, Foucault has made it clear why he was exploring subjectivity in the discussion of power. He stated that most of his addresses on power are centred on issues of human subjectivity which is deprived by the processes of objectification through which human beings are made subjects:

Why study power: the question of subject.

I would like to say, first of all, what has been the goal of my work during the last twenty years. It has not been to analyze the phenomena of power, nor to elaborate the foundations of such an analysis. My objective, instead, has been to create a history of the different modes by which, in our culture, human beings are made subjects. My works dealt with three modes of objectification that transform human beings into subjects...⁵⁴

According to Foucault, in the past, the study of power has concentrated too much on the collective domain such as legitimate power of the government and now it is time to expand it (the study of power) to the individual relationship and their being turned

⁵³ J. Marshall, *Michel Foucault: Personal Autonomy and Education* (London: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 1996), p. 56.

⁵⁴ Hubert Dreyfus and Paul Rabinow, (ed.), *Michel Foucault: Beyond Structuralism and Hermeneutics*, 2nd edn., (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983), p. 208; also "Series Preface" in James D. Faubion, (ed.), *Power: Essential Works of Foucault 1954-84. vol. 3* (London: Penguin books, 2000), p. vii.

into subjects:

Now it seemed to me that economic history and theory provided a good instrument for relations for production... but for power relations we had no tools of study. We had recourse only to ways of thinking about power based on legal models, that is: What legitimates power? Or we had recourse to ways of thinking about power based on institutional models, that is: What is the state? It was therefore necessary to expand the dimensions of a definition of power if one wanted to use this definition in studying the objectification of the subject.⁵⁵

Foucault's opinion is that the present mode of studying issues of power is not appropriate. Rather, how a person's subjectivity is deprived and hence becomes a subject of the exercise of power should be the new dimension for the study of power. Questions such as "how the subject is objectified" or "how a person's subjectivity, the awareness of the self to speak or to act according to one's own will, has been deprived" should be given more attention in the study of power. This needs further exploration, but in order to analyze further, we need to examine first how Foucault thinks of the self and how the powerful have control over the formation of the individual's self.

The general framework of the discovery of the self, Foucault calls, "technologies of the self", and it has appeared as "one of the poles of modern philosophy".⁵⁶ According to Foucault, human beings are thinking beings and their subjective political reasoning should be one of the features of modern life.⁵⁷ But as we have explored in section II-2, Foucault is very suspicious of the use of power by the government and he is against the idea that the aim of a state is to strengthen its power and assure its conservation. For this idea will lead to a government that does not care for the individual's life.⁵⁸ Rather, an ideal way of government, according to Foucault,

⁵⁵ Michel Foucault, "The Subject and Power" in James D. Faubion, (ed.), *Power: Essential Works of Foucault 1954-84. Vol. 3*, pp. 326-348, P. 327.

⁵⁶ Michel Foucault, "The Political Technology of Individuals" in James D. Faubion, (ed.), *Power: Essential Works of Foucault 1954-84. Vol. 3*, pp. 403-417, p. 404.

⁵⁷ Ibid., p. 405.

⁵⁸ Ibid., P. 409.

is a rule or an act enabling the ruled to discover peace and order with the self and the others.⁵⁹

On the basis of his suspicion of government, Foucault consistently asserts that the standards for what is right and wrong in terms of the social norm of a society does not necessarily concur with the juridical form and therefore, very often to promote the individual freedom is to be “anti-disciplinary”, namely, not to be submissive to what are defined as “right and wrong” in the juridical territory of punishment. This needs to be done outside of the designated realm of sovereignty of the government or any authorities. He argued, in concluding his second lecture in 1976, that

...one should look toward the possibility of a new form of right, one which must indeed be anti-disciplinarian, but at the same time liberated from the principle of sovereignty.⁶⁰

Such an attitude toward the individual's search for new form of discerning what is right and wrong is basically derived from his studies on the history of how western society treated the mad and the criminal. Foucault traces back how western society has come to its present form by the exclusion of the mad and criminals through disciplinary methods such as confinement or punishment. Gordon has made this point in his introduction to Foucault's work, *Power*:

Through addressing on madness and psychiatry, crime and punishment, he showed us how we have indirectly constituted ourselves through the exclusion of some others: mad people, criminals, and so on.⁶¹

On the other hand, regarding liberalism, Foucault's point of view is that liberalism is more in terms of setting limits for the power of government and demanding efficiency in the use of all resources in governing. And the governing principle of government is the less the better. As Gordon remarks:

Foucault in fact takes the meaning of liberalism in governmental

⁵⁹ Ibid., p. 407.

⁶⁰ Colin Gordon, “Introduction”, in James D. Faubion, (ed.), *Power: Essential Works of Foucault 1954-84. Vol. 3*, p. ix.

⁶¹ Michel Foucault, “The Political Technology of Individuals” in James D. Faubion, (ed.), *Power: Essential Works of Foucault 1954-84. Vol. 3*, pp. 403-417, p. 403.

thought... Liberalism is a critique of state reason, a doctrine of limitation, designed to mature and educate government by displaying to it the intrinsic limits of its power to know. Liberalism advocates an 'economic government'—a government, in other words, that economizes in the use of resources and effort to achieve its ends, and, more particularly, accepts that to govern well is to govern less...⁶²

Foucault has seen, from his observation of public care for the mad and prisoners, the coexistence in political structures of large destructive mechanisms and institutions oriented toward the care of individual life. This coexistence is puzzling and needs some investigation. For Foucault, such coexistence is one of the central antinomies of our political reasoning; antinomy in a sense that society needs the governing mechanism to govern public affairs for the best benefits of the public, and yet most of the time the same mechanism tends to serve the interest of the powerful ones who govern. The governing mechanism does so by the manipulation of the self-rationalized juridical system and well-fabricated ideologies (ref. II-2 and 3).

Therefore the kind of rationality that is outside of the self justified and well fabricated thinking system, such as some governmental designed ideologies or traditional ethical norms, is necessary for the assertion of the individual's subjectivity; otherwise, the individual will be objectified, or be deprived of the self's subjectivity without being aware of it. And this is the main reason for Foucault to promote individual subjectivity, which is somehow distinct from the radical claims of some liberalism for individual freedom.⁶³

To conclude this section, the formation of individual subjectivity is very much socially determined and, in particular, may be manipulated by the powerful, both of the individual and collective entities. Therefore the application of Foucault's concept for the essence of modern liberal thought is to re-claim and become conscious of the individual rationality, namely, to detach the self from the well-interwoven mechanism of thoughts such as what were defined as right or wrong by the national juridical system or the social norms. This is the ethos of Foucault's theories of the

⁶² Gordon, "Introduction", in James D. Faubion, (ed.), *Power: Essential Works of Foucault 1954-84*. Vol. 3, p.xxvii.

⁶³ Michel Foucault, "The Subject and Power" in James D. Faubion, (ed.), *Power: Essential Works of Foucault 1954-84*. Vol. 3, pp. 326-348; "The Political Technology of Individuals" in James D. Faubion, (ed.), *Power: Essential Works of Foucault 1954-84*. Vol. 3, pp. 403-417; see also footnote 106 of this chapter regarding Foucault's concept on the objectification of the individual.

search for the individual subjective discernment and is different from the radical claim for the search of the individual's freedom.

II-4.4. Assessment: A Reflection from the Context of Taiwan

Regarding subjectivity and the Taiwanese young generation's search for individual freedom, the concept of asserting individual subjectivity often leads young Taiwanese individuals intentionally to ignore the traditional ethical norms in favour of their own interests. What can testify to such a youth culture in Taiwan is a prevailing saying in society, "as long as I like it, why not?" The slogan, "as long as I like it, why not?" is a slogan of radical liberalism in Taiwan. It is one of the very anti-authoritarian slogans derived from the young generation's quest for individual freedom in the service of self-interest, personal preference, or as a means of showing the rebellious culture of their age.

The result of such a search of individual freedom that is reflected in the culture of young generation is the commonly seen scenes of young heterosexual (and homosexual) people's co-habitation without marriage and the fast growing numbers of abortions by college students, in particular after the long summer vacation and before the start of the new academic term.

There is also a prevailing trend of so-called "supportive social diplomacy", a term to describe voluntary sexual intercourse in exchange for money. Other behaviours not relating to sexual orientation are, for example, riding motorcycles with a huge group, making the sound systems of their motorcycles very loud when crossing a busy street at night, and taking various drugs in nightclubs. It is certain that these kinds of results are not the original purposes of the sociologists who promoted the search for individual subjectivity. These young people in Taiwan may have pushed the concept too far merely to show to the public that they do not necessarily conform to the expectations of the majority. This is merely one of the ways in which they display to society their rebellion against highly demanding schooling and pressure from their parents' high expectations for their future achievements in society through success in higher education. On the other hand some of them are reacting against their parents' neglect of them.

Another possible explanation may be that these young generations are, as some people from the older generation commented, selfishly pursuing their own interests,

period. Perhaps these scenes of Taiwanese youth culture have more complicated causes than we describe above, but it goes without saying that the search for individual subjectivity is one of the major factors. This is one of the reasons why we select this theme for one of our explorations of power theories.

However, from what we have explored in section II-4.3 regarding Foucault's theory of the individual's search for the self, we have found that the individual's search for the self is not mainly for self-interest but for regaining the individual's subjectivity. It would be to oversimplify, according to what we have explored so far, the issue of human subjectivity to say that the individual's search for the self is for the purpose that the individual can have freedom to choose their personal preferences. The older Taiwanese generations have been complaining that it is merely an excuse of radical liberalism in Taiwan for their ignoring all the social norms, or at least not giving proper consideration to whether all the social norms are truly good or bad for the whole society. Henceforth, in modern Taiwan, people such as parents and teachers, on whom the power of discipline are conferred, find it is much more difficult than before to discipline the younger generation both at home and at school.

Furthermore, the outcome of not thinking more thoroughly about the traditional norms or "what one should or should not do" is that the younger generation cast out the traditional morality too easily and therefore may not be able to learn from it even though much of it has been drawn from the wisdom of past generations. Rather, they think that their personal subjective decisions or interests are what really matters; anything else in the society does not. Therefore, "as long as I like it, why not" has become one of the mottoes for their life and this has caused many problems in the society such as pre-marital sexual relationships, cohabiting, abortion, motorcycle racing in crowded streets, gang fighting, etc. It is also worth noting that another result of the individual's search for personal subjectivity is, ironically, less tolerance of others' opinions and less compliance with various perspectives on working or living together.

It is therefore very important for Taiwanese youth to understand what is really meant by Foucault's proposal for personal subjectivity and individual freedom. The essence of personal subjectivity is not to make human beings subjects in any way, not to objectify what are not supposed to be objectified (ref. II-4.3). Certainly, the search for subjectivity is not necessarily limited to young people. All people who are under anyone else's power may need to search for it; such as women, the subject we are

going to explore next. Having discussed the younger generation's search for individual freedom and subjectivity, in the following we shall examine another important category of this thesis, women, and see how they are also involved in various power relationships and are in need of the search for individual subjectivity and freedom, too.

II-5. Power, Conflict, Resistance, Deviance and Punishment

II-5.1. Connections between the Key Terms

In this section we are going to explore the connection between the above terms, namely, conflict, resistance, deviance, and punishment, which are very closely related to the issue of power. The parties that have conflicts in their preferences or interests often result in the use of power, whether it is expressed explicitly or implicitly. In the situation of conflict, the more powerful domineer over the powerless; however the latter can also find a way to resist. The less powerful ones or the party/entity that is being domineered over, if they decide not to conform to the will of the powerful, will try to resist despite the fact that they may be viewed or labelled as “the deviants”. As for the powerful side, if they cannot find a way of reaching a compromise resolution, they may resort to various disciplinary methods to get the compliance they want from the powerless ones. The powerful may adopt any kinds of punishment as disciplinary methods. Power, conflict, resistance, deviance, and punishment, therefore, connect with each other in many perspectives, so we take it as one of our themes in the study of power.

II-5.2. Power and Conflict: When Will A Conflict Possibly Happen?

The concept of conflict has been much elaborated in the sociological study of power.⁶⁴ As Vpoints out, “Conflict...is assumed to be crucial in providing an experimental test of power attributions.”⁶⁵ But, like the term “power”, the term “conflict” is also difficult to define. Here we only list some of its definitions in order to continue our discussion on the issue of resistance in a power relationship, which is closely related to the concept of conflict.

Regarding the definition of “conflict”, Blalock uses a very inclusive way to describe it:

By social conflict we shall mean the intentional mutual exchange of negative sanctions, or punitive behaviours, by two or more parties

⁶⁴ See for example, Hubert M. Blalock, *Power and Conflict: Toward a General Theories* (London: Sage, 1989); Stephen Lukes, *Power: A Radical View* (London: Macmillan, 1974); T. James Duke, *Conflict and Power in Social Life* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University, 1976).

⁶⁵ Lukes, *Power: A Radical View*, p. 14.

which may be individuals, corporate actors, or more loosely knit quasi-groups.⁶⁶

The points Blalock makes here about conflict are first that it is a mutual, not just one-sided, exchange of behaviour, and second that it is a negative response of expression, whether it is called “sanctioning” or “punitive”. Blalock further points out that conflict is a struggle for the scarce status, power and resources. And one major purpose of the parties involved in conflicts is to do some or all possible damage to their rivals.⁶⁷

From the above description we can draw some characteristics of conflict: (1) it is between two opposing entities, (2) it can be a struggle over different values or ideologies (see II-2 of this thesis), and (3) it can also be a competition for scarce resources.

However, when may a conflict possibly happen? Weber has an address on it. According to Weber, in modern capitalist society, most of the individuals are struggling for some sort of social rewards such as more economic gain, improvement of social status, erotic gratification, and power over others. When these self interests are in conflict with one another and compromise between conflicting interests fails, the individuals will struggle for their own interests. These struggles will vary depending on the means adopted, whether they are violent or peaceful.⁶⁸

... associative relationship, on the other hand, very often consists only in compromises between rival interests, ... outside the area of compromise, the conflict of interest, with its attendant competition for supremacy remains unchanged... conflict varies enormously according to the means employed, especially whether they are violent or peaceful, and to the ruthlessness with which they are used...⁶⁹

Weber further observes that, in any social relationship, be it as “associated relationship (by conflicting self interests)” such as management and labour, or the

⁶⁶ Hubert M. Blalock, *Power and Conflict: Toward A General Theories* (London: Sage, 1989), p.7.

⁶⁷ Ibid, p. 8.

⁶⁸ Max Weber, *Economy and Society: An Outline of Interpretive Sociology*, vol. 1, Guenther Roth and Claus Wittich, (eds.), (New York: Bedminister Press, 1968), pp. 40-42; Duke, *Conflict and Power in Social Life*, pp. 46-47.

⁶⁹ Weber, *Economy and Society: An Outline of Interpretive Sociology*, vol. 1, p. 42.

merchant and the customer, or “primary relationship,” in which people are connected with each other with subjective feelings that they belong to each other, such as husband and wife, or parents and child, there are times of conflict of interest between the parties. And very possibly the conflict will result in some coercion of one party by another through the use of power, even in the most intimate relationships.

The communal type of relationship is, according to the usual interpretation of its subjective meaning, the most radical antithesis of conflict. This should not, however, be allowed to obscure the fact that coercion of all sorts is a very common thing in even the most intimate of such communal relationships if one party is weaker in character than the other...⁷⁰

Therefore, from Weber’s analysis we understand that conflict is very likely to happen in human relationships, both in the collective domain, such as between the governing institution and the public, and in interpersonal relationships, even the very intimate ones such as between husband and wife. But what it is like when the conflict happens? This is the question we are to examine in the following.

II-5.3. Resistance in the Time of Conflict

In II-5.2, we have drawn from the definitions of conflict two characteristics for a conflict to happen: first, there is competition in seeking scarce resources such as status or material supplies, and second, there is resistance to the rival party’s reaching the goal. In other words, in the situation of conflict, when people in one party try to exert power over the other one, they may be frustrated by the resistance from people in the other party. As Foucault says regarding a conflict situation, “power relations are obliged to change with the resistance. So I think resistance the main word, the key word, in this dynamic.”⁷¹ Therefore, resistance is an important factor in the context of conflict with power. It means that while noticing the existence of power games in society, Foucault is still optimistic about the power of resistance. For him, wherever there is a power relationship, there is the possibility of resistance. No one can have absolute power without any possible resistance. As he said, “There is no power without potential refusal or revolt.”⁷²

⁷⁰ Max Weber, *Economy and Society: An Outline of Interpretive Sociology*, vol. 1, p. 42.

⁷¹ M Foucault, *Foucault- Live Interviews 1966-84*, J. Johnston, (trans. & ed.), in S. Loring, (ed.), (New York: Semiotext, 1996), p. 252.

⁷² Michel Foucault, “‘Omnes Et Singulatim’: Toward A Critique of Political Reason” in James D.

It is this concept of potential refusal or revolt that gives support for those who are under the control or domination of power holders to act against them.

II-5.4. Resistance, Revolution and Discerning from Outside of the System

Regarding the power of resistance, Foucault means much broader resources for it and does not limit it to the single dimension of revolution:

It seems to me that power must be understood in the first instance as the multiplicity of force relationships...Power is everywhere; not because it embraces everything, but because it comes from everywhere

...Where there is power, there is resistance, that power depends for its resistance on the presence of a 'multiplicity of points of resistance' and that the plurality of resistances should not be reduced to a single locus of revolt or rebellion.⁷³

One of the applications for what Foucault means by "multiplicity of points of resistance" is such as in a well interwoven network or mechanism which functions for the self interests of the power holder, a resistance can mean to discern from outside of the system and to provide an insight to criticize what is masked behind the appearances or to discover where the self-evidenced rationality is (see II-1. Governmentality).

Therefore, for Foucault, the connotation of resistance is broader than the commonly imagined sense of a military revolution. Rather, there are multiple complexities in its meanings that also include discerning things or the concepts that already exist in society such as what is meant by "mad", "normal", "ill", and even "crime". Such discernment requires an awareness of not being trapped in the original structure of the thoughts set up by the power holder but thinking from outside of it. Such a process of discerning, Robinson comments, is "to see the invisible, and to say unspeakable, to operate from outside of the organ/system."⁷⁴

Faubion, (ed.), *Power: Essential Works of Foucault 1954-84. Vol. 3*, pp. 298-325, p. 324.

⁷³ Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality, Vol. I: An Introduction*. Allan Lane, (trans.), (London: Penguin Press, 1977), pp. 92-93, 95

⁷⁴ Keith A. Robinson, *Michel Foucault and the Freedom of Thought* (Cerdigion, Wales: Edwin

In terms of the 'resistance', Foucault's main idea is to give a varied (*sic*) thought to what people ordinarily took as granted or thought as to give space assistance in wearing away certain self-evidentnesses (*sic*) and commonplaces about madness, normality, illness, crime and punishment; to bring it about, together with many others, that certain phrases can no longer be spoken so lightly, certain acts no longer, or at least no longer so unhesitatingly performed, to contribute to changing certain things in people's way of perceiving and doing things...⁷⁵

II-5.5. Resistance as a Guidepost for the Critique of an Existing Power Relationship

Foucault suggests that "resistance" can be used as a guidepost to uncover the things disguised so intentionally in an interwoven network that is for the self interest of the powerful. He suggests that to examine an existing power relationship, or to find out where the problem is in an existing power relationship, we can start from where the resistance is:

I would like to suggest another way to go further toward a new economy of power relations, a way that is more empirical, more directly related to our present situation, and one that implies more relations between theory and practice. It consists in taking the forms of resistance against different forms of power as a starting point.⁷⁶

Foucault uses the metaphor of "chemical catalyst" to describe such a function of resistance:

To use another metaphor, it consists in using this resistance as a chemical catalyst so as to bring to light power relations, locate their position, finding out their point of application and the methods used. Rather than analyzing power from the point of view of its internal rationality, it consists of analyzing power relations through the

Mellen Press, 2001), pp. 157-158.

⁷⁵ Ibid., p. 157.

⁷⁶ Michel Foucault, "The Subject and Power" in *Power: Essential Works of Foucault 1954-84. Vol. 3*, pp. 326-348, P. 329.

antagonism of strategies.⁷⁷

From the above quotation, we can see Foucault suggesting that in a relationship if we can determine where the feelings of antagonism or antagonistic reactions such as pain, discomfort, uneasiness etc. arise from - in other words, where in a power relationship has caused resistance - then we can understand what kind of power relationship it is. This is what we mean by saying that resistance can be a guidepost to point to where the problems are in a power relationship.

II-5.6. Punishments: Ways to Discipline the Deviant

In this section we will try to answer the question of how the powerful discipline those who resist their use of power or those who do not want to conform to the norm the powerful set for them.

As we have explored above if the individual's perceived self-interest or preferred goal is conflicting with the government's goal or generally accepted ethical norms, no matter whether they are true or false, they may not conform to the regulations set by the government or the norms preferred by the general public in the society. These non-conformists are, in a sense, deviants in the society, no matter what name they are called, be it the homosexual, the delinquent, the traitor or the criminal.

For these deviants, there are punishments set for them, whether they are spoken or unspoken, explicitly or implicitly done. In particular, as we have also addressed (ref. II-5-1 on the power of legitimate authority and II-5.2 on governmentality) that in the collective domain, office/position holders are given power to execute rules and reward those who conform to the rules or punishment to those who do not. Since it has been determined that the rules or the regulations are set for the good of the community as a whole,⁷⁸ the non-conformists are supposed to do some harm to society as a whole and therefore need to be warned. The way of warning is through all kinds of punishments such as keeping a record, spotting or singling out the individual, causing physical pain etc. These punishments are meant to be some kind of social sanction against the damage these non-conformists may cause to society.⁷⁹

⁷⁷ Ibid. p. 329; see also M. Foucault, "The Subject and Power," in Dreyfus and Rabinow, *Michel Foucault: Beyond Structuralism and Hermeneutics* (Harvester Press, 1986), p. 212.

⁷⁸ See the discussion on ideology, II-3, above.

⁷⁹ Duke, *Conflict and Power in Social Life*, p. 47.

In fact, regarding punishment for the individual or the deviant, the object of discipline has been transformed from the body to the psyche in the western history. As Barry Smart argues Foucault traces back the history of the development of the penal system in western society to show such a transition:

Discipline and Punish opens with a graphic account of the punishment inflicted upon the body of 'Damien the regicide' in 1757...

Following the horror story of Damien's torturous public execution there is a bland listing of the rules, virtually a daily timetable for activities..., in existence some eighty years later in 'the House of young prisoners in Paris'. These two starkly contrasting accounts effectively illustrate the fundamental transformation which had taken place in penal practices, namely the disappearance of the public spectacle of physical punishment and the installation of a different form of penalty... The transformation represented for Foucault a shift from the body to the 'soul' or 'psyche' as the primary target of punishment.⁸⁰

Nevertheless, no matter whether it is the body or psyche as the object of the punishment, whether it is executed in public or in secret, *the essence of punishment is that the authority, no matter whether a king, a government or a powerful person, needs to have some means of disciplining the non-conformist or the deviant.* The variations of the punishments pave the way for the power holder to discipline the individual deviants. Foucault points out the following possibilities of punishment:

The exercise of power necessarily puts into circulation apparatuses of knowledge, ... by the production of effective instruments for the formation and accumulation of knowledge – methods of observation, techniques of registration, procedures for investigation and research, apparatuses of control.⁸¹

⁸⁰ Barry Smart, *Michel Foucault: An Introduction* (London: Routledge, 2002), p. 74.

⁸¹ Michel Foucault, "Two Lectures" in C. Gordon, (ed.), *Michel Foucault: Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings, 1972-1977*, p. 102; See also Barry Smart, *Michel Foucault: An Introduction* (London: Routledge, 2002), p. 80.

The functions of the various disciplinary methods quoted above are mainly to gain, through techniques of keeping records of individuals, procedures of investigation and methods of control, the knowledge needed to govern the non-conformists. Therefore the art of punishment rests not necessarily upon causing physical pain but on the prevention of deviant behaviours that may eventually cause the total collapse of the whole system.

II-5.7. Assessment: A Reflection from the Context of Taiwan

In the introduction we have proposed some questions to be answered in this section. Here we list those questions again: (1) Is being a deviant a form of resistance to the dominating power no matter what form it is? (2) In what way they are viewed as “deviant”? Or according to what mentality or ideology are they labelled as what they are? (3) Do these deviants have some characteristics for them to be labelled as such? (4) Does the labelling have anything to do with the individual’s assertion of the subjectivity and their search for personal freedom? (5) Is there anything relating to power in the determination of “what is a deviant behaviour”? (6) Do they deserve the punishments that are executed upon them? (7) Does “the deviant” have anything to do with resisting the prevailing norms in the society?

After the above exploration in this section, now the answers for them can be more clearly presented. Being a deviant very often is because they resist/violate the social norm or the regulations set by the power holders in order to assert their subjective perception for what they should do or should not do. The cost for their assertion of the subjectivity is the punishment from the power holders.

The purpose of punishments or any kinds of disciplinary methods is mainly to prevent what the power holders do not like to happen. In particular, if the power holders do not gain their power in a legitimate way, the art of discipline will be developed to a very advanced condition to keep the governed people under control. It may include all the techniques that Foucault has listed such as methods of observation, investigation, keeping records and registration (ref. II-5.6).

For the above concepts on the deviants’ resistance and how the power holder discipline them, we can see from the story of the Presbyterian churches in Taiwan in 1970s and 1980s. In the beginning of KMP’s governing Taiwan, in order to suppress the deviants’ voices against them, the punishment given to the deviants by the

authority of government was very severe; other than actual killing one of the major forms of punishment by the government is to sentence them into prison through the courts, mostly to be put into jail for years. Certainly, what kinds of person “the deviants” were was defined according to different ideologies the power holders set as we have explored in II-2. Most of the deviants of the time were indeed only the ones who dared to speak against the government’s policies. People might be investigated merely because they said something in public or wrote something for the press against the government as we have described in the story of PCT, an illustration for pastoral theology (I-3.). The KMP government after the Second World War was very successful, in a sense, in using the art of punishment upon the Taiwanese people. In PCT’s story, we have described how the so called “White Terror”, the unspoken fear of the government’s discipline or punishment, had intimidated most of the Taiwanese from saying or doing things against their ruling Taiwan in the fifty years after the Second World War. Many of the elite who dared to speak against the KMP government in public were killed, sentenced to jail or forced to flee to other countries to avoid severe punishments.

On the other hand, even though Foucault has explicated that resistance to the power is always possible (ref. II-5.5), we feel there is a need to add an amendment to his notion of resistance: that is “resistance is always possible as long as there are people willing to pay the cost for it.” From the story of PCT, we can see how they had paid the cost of daring to be the deviants, resisting the prevailing ideologies that were set for the interests of the KMP only, not for the welfare of the Taiwanese as a whole. In other words, in the terms we have explored, the PCT have thought from outside a system that was defined by the KMP government as “right and legal” so that they could discern the wrong doings of the government and speak what was “unspeakable,” while in doing so, they were also ready to pay the cost (ref. II-5.4). It is because of their daring to confront the KMP government of the time that the later generations learned how to be a power of resistance in the time of need. This we will see in part three of our case study of the Garden of Hope, namely, how they stood up to ask the KMP government to amend legislation that has put prostituted girls in a dilemma in Taiwanese society of the time.⁸²

One of the other main fields that often need disciplinary punishment is in the family, punishment of children by parents. In Taiwanese society, we do not have a law to ban parents from smacking their children. The advantage of that is that parents have a

⁸² See part II, the case study, below.

right to discipline their children by the way of “using the stick” as is said in the Bible. However, in this regard, there are also two sides to the coin. One is that some loving parents feel it hard to discipline their children who are asserting their subjective freedom as we have explored in the previous theme of power (II-5.4). The other side is that there are also parents who have abused their guardian power that the law grants to them; the patriarchal disciplinary power may be too harsh for the children to bear or not even the mother of the family can stop it. Therefore the children can only run away from their homes.

The school is the other main field for the use of disciplinary methods. In Taiwan, in particular in junior high schools in which the students need to prepare to pass the joint examination in order to enter a good high school to study, very often the teachers set very high standards for their students to achieve because of the high competition among schools or classes. Once the standards have been set, whoever does not reach the standard will be punished, for instance, if the standard score is 90 points for the test, for every point short of 90 the students will be smacked one time on a part of the body, hand, feet or hips. There have been cases in which students felt it necessary to wear many pairs of pants to the school so that, when they were smacked by their teachers on the hip, they wouldn't feel so much pain. Without doubt, such an educational system would cause many students who did not perform well in their studies and were punished as “deviants” to run away from their schooling and therefore homes in order to escape possible punishment. The next step for these runaway students is very often to use their own body to make money, since they do not have any other skill to make their living. This is one of the reasons why there are so many “supportive diplomatic relationships” in Taiwan society nowadays.⁸³

Many of the above factors in terms of discipline and punishment have contributed to the reasons why some of the girls in our case study have become prostitutes, because they are under the disciplinary powers of both their family and the school. These factors are also why a pastoral care provider needs to intervene and play the role of being a power of resistance to help people in need. We shall discuss that in the case study in part three. Now we need to turn to the next theme for our study of power theories, the most significant area for our case study, women and power.

⁸³ See II-5, above.

II-6. Power and Women

There are certainly many perspectives from which we can address the topic of this section, “power and women”. As in the previous sections, because of the multiple areas to be explored in this thesis, we need to choose what we explore. For the purposes of dealing with the case study in the later part of this thesis, we select from topics relating to the power relationship between men and women, women and objectification and women working in commercial sex.

II-6.1. Issues of Power Affect the Relationship between Men and Women

The position of women in modern society has much to do with issues of power in their seeking for intimate relationships with the opposite sex and their making efforts to claim equality in social status. While many feminists try to promote women’s status in society, whether in the family or in the workplace, Hilary Lips starts from the perspective of the intimate relationships between men and women and has insightfully pointed out that power issues between men and women are what influence such relationships:

Many of us seek intimacy in special relationships with members of the other sex - intimacy that, by definition, implies trust and shared vulnerability. Yet differences in men’s and women’s access to and use of power continually subvert this intimacy or turn it into a charade.⁸⁴

According to Lips, the stereotype of the role patterns such as the dominant male and the submissive female are learned and are the main obstacles in the way of equality between men and women whether as friends or colleagues. Other stereotype of women is frequently associated with ‘powerless’ and ‘weak’. But there are exceptions in real life and these exceptions are viewed with “distaste”, treated with “ridicule or hostility”, and if possible, “dismissed”. Such recognition of power relationships between women and men need to precede the search for a resolution of the problem of power between men and women:

...clearly, the idea of weak men and strong women implies a threat to

⁸⁴ Hilary M. Lips, *Women, Men, & Psychology of Power* (Eaglewood Cliff, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1981), p. v.

the existing status hierarchy and creates a lot of discomfort.”⁸⁵ And “Many of us seek friendship or colleagueship with members of the other sex, often to find that equality supposed in these relationships is constantly challenged by learned sex-role patterns of dominance and submission. As long as we do not acknowledge or understand the role of power in women-man relationships, there is little hope that we can change these relationships for the better.”⁸⁶

II-6.2. Power and the People who Work for Gender Equality

Since issues of power include the relationship between men and women as we explores above, it is therefore a major perspective for the people who work in the feminist movement to attune to.

In terms of gender equality, Elaine Graham traces from the development of feminism in the history and states the multiplicity of divisions and goals of feminism at different stages of its development.⁸⁷ We draw a diagram for Graham’s point of view as below:

⁸⁵ Lips, *Women, Men & Psychology of Power*, p. vi.

⁸⁶ Ibid., p. v.

⁸⁷ Elaine Graham, *Making the Differences: Gender, Personhood and Theology* (London: Mowbray, 1995), pp. 77-119.

First wave of feminism movement, Before 1960 s	<p>Liberal feminism</p> <p>Socialist feminism in the 1900s</p>	<p>Based upon the analysis of Enlightenment liberalism in the 1800s</p> <p>Inspired by the political analysis of Marxism and socialism</p>
Second wave of feminism movement, after 1960s	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Fighting for a variety of equal opportunities to end discrimination, 2. Promoting to give women accesses to public life on equal terms with men, 3. Articulate the unique and distinctive nature of women, 4. Celebrate the difference of women from men, 5. In opposition to the dominating masculinity and patriarchal culture (Jaggar, 1983: 106-16). 	
Third wave feminism, recently, end of 20 th century ⁸⁸	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Endeavour to transmit the prevailing pathological notions of gender identity and gender relations, 2. Try to link between culture and politics 	<p>Drawing upon critical movements of poststructuralism and psychoanalysis and reference to cultural and literary studies</p>

⁸⁸ R. Tong, *Feminist Thought: A Comprehensive Introduction* (London: Unwin Hyman, 1989), pp. 139-172, 217-233; also reference C. Weedon, *Feminist Practice and Poststructuralist Theory* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1987).

From the above analysis we can agree with Graham's point that in viewing the plurality of feminist theories, a diversity of analysis and practical strategy are necessary in addressing feminism and they should be treated in the context of their dialectical and political relationship.⁸⁹

Nevertheless, whether it is to liberate women from the traditional confinement for women (first wave) or to oppose to male dominating patriarchal culture (second wave) or to transmitting pathological notions of gender differences (third wave), the commonality among these projects is that issues of power between men and women are at stake for the resolutions of these projects as we have addressed in the previous section (II-6.1).⁹⁰ Not only so, some of the people who work for gender equality find issues of power are problems among themselves in the execution of their projects. They have the dilemma of whether to use power or not, because they have sensed that power is the kind of thing that can easily make people be addicted to it:

The concept of power has become the subject of a critique in which feminists are playing a large part. It is argued, for example, that power over others should be avoided because that power is somewhat addictive. Those who gain powers are seen as losing sight of original values or at least as making such values and concerns subsidiary to maintaining or increasing personal power...⁹¹

Furthermore, in the execution of promoting the equality between men and women, feminists find they need power, but on the other hand, they also fear to have power or distrust giving power to other people in the team, for having power is both an attractive and yet dangerous thing to most of the people.⁹²

Many people who are trying to restructure the relationships between women and men in the direction of greater equality find the issue of power to be problematic. While trying to break free of sexual stereotypes, they are torn between the desire to increase their power and the distaste they feel for the idea of imposing their will on others.

⁸⁹ Graham, *Making the Differences*, pp. 77-98. By "political" we mean the politics within feminism.

⁹⁰ This we shall see in the continuing analysis of this section, so please reference the following sections II-5.3, II-5.4.

⁹¹ Lips, *Women, Men & Psychology of Power*, p. v.

⁹² B.B. Polk, "Male Power and the Women's Movement." *The Journal of Applied Behavioral Science*, 1874, 10 (3), pp. 415-431.

Those involved in the women's movement, for instance, often question the ethics of building up power that can be exerted over others, sometimes fear and mistrust powerful individuals within their own ranks, and are wary of becoming part of powerful institutions. The image of power, although attractive, is in many ways a dangerous one.⁹³

People who work for gender equality often find that the unfairness or inequality of treatment between men and women can also be seen in the victims of rape. In Perlman's research she finds that there is a double standard in that women and men are not punished in the same way for violation of the sexual norms of society. The examples can be seen in what happens between female sexual workers and their clients, between rapists and their victims. Female prostitutes were charged more seriously than their clients when the police caught them. And rape victims suffered in their reputation or being rejected in the society almost no less than the rapists.⁹⁴

II-6.3. Power and Women in the Field of Sexual Behaviour and Commercial Sex

The topic of women having commercial sex is one of the main themes of this thesis. We will have quite an in-depth exploration later on in our case study (Ch. III and IV). Therefore, in this section we will only have a general exploration of the relationship between women and men in commercial sex transactions.

Lips' opinion is that in prostitution sexuality is a kind of power which working women can use in different contexts to bargain for money with men.

Within a given interaction, the prostitute has power over the client in certain respects to the extent that the client wants what she or he has. Power is easily measured by the amount the client is willing to pay and is strongly influenced by the availability of other sources of sexual satisfaction.⁹⁵

But the above stated situation is in reality a too idealized situation in the sense that it

⁹³ Lips, *Women, Men & Psychology of Power*, p. 10.

⁹⁴ D. Perlman, "The Premarital Sexual Standards of Canadians", In K. Ishwara (ed.) *Marriage and Divorce in Canada* (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1979).

⁹⁵ Lips, *Women, Men & Psychology of Power*, p. 114.

has isolated all the other complexities which a woman who works in the field may face. Laws and Schwartz mentions the complexities of the reality that a prostitute may face such as oppression from the pimp, people in the society and sometimes even the police. The female prostitutes, in particular, are manipulated by the pimps in the brothels they work. The pimps take a large portion of their earnings. They are also often harassed by police, frequently jailed, and usually regarded with contempt by other people, even the very people who pay for her services.⁹⁶

A BBC program also reports on the harassment by police officers of commercial sex workers that they have caught:

...sex workers complain that police sometimes abuse their powers. For example, one sex worker stated: "I was picked up by police at night to the police station where three police asked me to have unprotected sex with them if I want to be released."⁹⁷

In addition to the harassment from the police, women working in the field of commercial sex encounter more complexities than women working in other fields. Our case study has much relevance to the field of prostitution, so later on we shall further examine the issues of women in commercial sex in our case study. For now we turn to another topic, sexual abuse and violence against women, that has shown us how women lack power of control over themselves.

II-6.4. Power in Women and Girls' Life: Sexual Abuse and Violence against Women and Girls

In our exploration of the characteristics of power, we have shown that power is relational and can be exercised through various agencies such as status quo, financial capacity, physical strength and etc. these characteristics of power can be seen from women and girls in their power relationships in terms of sexual abuse and violence against women and girls.

⁹⁶ J.L. Laws and P. Schwartz, *Sexual Scripts: The Social Construction of Female Sexuality*. (Hinsdale, Ill.: Dryden Press, 1977); Also, Lips, p. 115.

⁹⁷ "Sex Workers Raped by Zambian Police", *BBC News Online* http://news.bbc.uk/1/hi/English/world/Africa/newsid_1946000/1946000_23_April_2002, quoted from *Whose Body It Is: Commercial Sex Work and the Law In Namibia* (Australia: Australian Development Cooperation, 2002), p. 170.

Women and girls in relation to power are seen in particular in the vulnerability of both women and girls in the issues of sexual abuse. According to Corby, in his address on issues of gender, his finding is that overall official reporting figures suggest that girls are more subject to abuse than boys.⁹⁸ Russell (1984) surveyed a community sample of 930 women in San Francisco. In total, 647 incidents of child sexual abuse were disclosed to her interviewers.⁹⁹ The percentage is very high, almost 70%. It means that 7 out of ten women had experience of sexual abuse in their life. More shocking act is that there are also high percentages among them abused by close family members or relatives, or abused in their early years. The report showed that among them, 16% at least one experience of incestuous abuse before the age of 14, 31% had experienced extra-familial abuse before the age of 18 and 20% before the age of 14. The report also points out that girls are more vulnerable than boys.¹⁰⁰

With respect to violence against women and girls, Zoe Bennett More, in her effort to evoke the global awareness of domestic violence against women and girls, mentions two forms of violence against women and girls: (1) the active forms such as wife beating and (2) the passive forms such as deprivation of life-giving nourishment and lower pay and worse working condition for women in labour market.¹⁰¹

Zoe Bennett More further addresses the fact that of the estimated 1.3 billion people living in poverty world-wide, more than 70 per cent are women and girls" (UNICEF, State of World's Children 1996) and the causes for the violence against women and girls are rooted in multiple factors such as issues of gender, of the community's understanding of what it means to be a woman or a man such as in different religion and ethnic groups:¹⁰²

⁹⁸ Brian Corby, *Child Abuse: Toward a Knowledge Base* (Buckingham: Open University Press, 1993), p. 60.

⁹⁹ To charge a person as a sexual abuser is not easy. It depends on how to define an action of sexual abuse and needs psychological experts to examine. According to Russel, child sexual abuse is: 'Extra familial child sexual abuse: one or more unwanted sexual experiences with person unrelated by blood or marriage, ranging from attempted petting (touching of breasts or genitals, or attempts at such touching) to rape, before the victim turned 14 years, and attempted forcible rape experiences form the ages of 14 to 17 years inclusive.' Incestuous child abuse is defined as: "any kind of exploitive sexual contact or attempted sexual contact, that occurred between relatives, no matter how distant the relationship, before the victim turned 18 years old." D. Russel, *Sexual Exploitation: Rape, Child Sexual Abuse and Workplace Harassment* (Beverly Hills, CA: sage, 1984), pp. 180-181.

¹⁰⁰ D. Russel, *Sexual Exploitation: Rape, Child Sexual Abuse and Workplace Harassment*, p. 180.

¹⁰¹ Zoe Bennett More, *Introducing Feminist Perspectives on Pastoral Theology* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2002), p. 33.

¹⁰² Ibid., p. 33.

Violence against women is global, horrifically extensive and varied, and shaped by gendered understandings and practices...while both men and women struggle the consequences of violence which has its roots in religious, ethnic, class and sexuality issues, women, *in addition* suffer violence by virtue of being women in patriarchal society.¹⁰³

Other than issues of violence, women in professional worlds are under different oppression that derived from patriarchal tradition and that Josefowitz described as "New double bonds". We will examine how women in the professional worlds are oppressed by the power of such an ideology.

II-6.5. Power and Women in the Professional World

Johnson (1976) suggested that women simply have less access than men do to concrete resources and competence, as well as to positions of professional authority.¹⁰⁴

Robin Gill also researches on women returning to professional work when they can take off from their family, and comments that even in the professional worlds it is still male colleagues who define the culture and norms for the work place.¹⁰⁵ What often troubles these professional women is the conflict between what is demanded in professional qualification or competence and the expected behaviour for them:

There is a conflict between the norms of professional competence and expected behaviour for a woman. Women are not socialized to be sure of themselves, self-confident, and articulate, and are often treated with suspicion if they are. Alternatively, if women conform to the stereotypes of being quiet, passive, and compliant, they are often seen as being unprofessional. Many women will therefore find themselves in the 'New Double Bonds' (Josefowitz, 1983)

¹⁰³ Ibid., p. 32.

¹⁰⁴ P. Johnson, "Women and Power: Toward a Theory of Effectiveness", *Journal of Social Issues*, 1976, 32 (3), pp. 99-110.

¹⁰⁵ Jill Robson calls women's taking time for their family after they get married is a time for "family formation". Jill Robson, "From House to Professional – On the Perils of being a Women Returner" in Elaine Graham and Margaret Halsey, (eds.), *Life Cycles: Women and Pastoral Care*, (London: SPCK, 1993), pp. 105-121, P. 114.

What Robson quoted from Josefowitz as “New Double Bonds” is from a poem that describes the dilemma women face in their professional working place and that explicate very well how women are bounded in the power of ideologies for what is a woman supposed to be:

If I am too pretty
 I won't get hired
 Because I'll distract the men.
 If I'm too plain I won't get hired
 Who wants unattractive females around?

If I wear my three- piece suit
 I look too mannish.
 If I wear a dress
 I'm not professional.

If I bring in the coffee
 That's all I am good for.
 If I don't
 I'm one of those women's libbers.

If I eat lunch with my boss
 The secretaries gossip.
 If I eat with secretaries
 I'm seen as just one of the girls.

If I don't work over time
 Women wants special considerations.
 If I do
 I'm a rate-buster.

If I ask her to retype a letter
 Women bosses are bitches.
 If I don't
 I have no standards.

If I agree

I have no opinions.
 If I disagree
 I'm aggressive.

If I smile
 I'm seductive.
 If I don't
 I'm cold.¹⁰⁶

From the above poem it is clearly that if a professional woman does want to follow what their male or even female colleagues expect them to be, they will be disoriented, not knowing exactly what they should behave. This is one of the reasons for why women in the professional field need to assert their own subjectivities (see II-6) so that they can be freed from these new double bonds. However, in a world that has objectified women for a long time, it is a hard and a long way for women to re-assert their subjectivities in various fields. How were women objectified? Next we will have an examination on this subject.

II-6.6. Power and the Objectification of Women

In one occasion, when being questioned why his writings mostly related to issues of power, Foucault gave a self-disclosure explanation by saying that actually most of his writings were intended to address issues of objectification of human beings, not power, though both themes are very much related to each other.¹⁰⁷ The objectification of human beings also relates to the issue of subjectivity which we have explored in section II-6. In this section we will focus on the objectification of women.

Women being treated as objects has a long history. Jalazai bases her exploration of the problem of women trafficking on the historical and cultural background. She says that the trafficking in women is as old as history itself and can be traced back through history, in which women are objectified as gifts to be exchanged through marriage in

¹⁰⁶ N. Josefowitz, *Verses for Women in the Midst of Life* (London: Warner Books, 1983). Quoted by Robin Gill, "From House to Professional- On the Perils of being a Women Returner", p. 114. (Gill does not list the page number).

¹⁰⁷ By objectification, Foucault means the process of making objects. According to Foucault, this includes three meanings: the objectification of specific "knowledge", of human being divided, namely, the process of turning human beings into objects, and of human beings making themselves into objects as in human sexuality. For more detailed discussion of Foucault's concept of objectification please see Dreyfus and Rabinow, *Michel Foucault: Beyond Structuralism and Hermeneutics*, p. 211.

tribal culture. According to Jalalzai, in primitive custom in Asia, an exchange of gift can assure relationship between two tribes. One of the important rituals of exchange is through the institution of marriage:

...in primitive pre-state societies, gift giving or gift exchange conferred upon its participants a special relationship of mutual aid and trust. Significantly, the most important form of gift-exchange, through which the tribe or kin-groups increased in size and strength, was institutionalized through marriage...¹⁰⁸

In the institution of marriage as such, indeed, women were often used as objects/gifts like the other objects to be exchanged:

But where other forms of gift-exchange entailed the passage of objects – shells, cattle, etc. – from one group to another, in this case women constituted as the gift which passed between male members of different kin groups. While this form of exchange strengthened the kin groups involved, it did not confer any special power on the women themselves. Social linkages were formed between the men of different tribes. The women were the channels of a relationship, not partners to it, and passive objects of exchange (just like the other objects of shells, cattle, etc. in exchange), not active partners in a deal.¹⁰⁹

Jalalzai's point is that while customs of the gift-exchange of women may have differed from culture to culture or between one ethnic group and another, the basic pattern was to be retained through time and early societies. And today women trafficking is one of the forms into which it has been transformed; the difference is only between the licit and illicit forms of exchange. Yet women have gained nothing, not even power of control for themselves:

The custom of designating the woman as the object in a gift-exchange relationship survived these early societies... Thus history gives us the examples of trafficking in women; the only distinction is between the licit and the illicit forms of exchange... Social and commercial relations are organized on the basis of this exchange, and women's

¹⁰⁸ Jalalzai, "Trafficking of Women and Prostitution in Asia", p. 67.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., p.67.

status in society and men's attitudes towards them are reflective of this system. Women are 'given' in marriage, 'taken' in battle, 'exchanged' for favours, sent as 'tribute', traded, bought, and sold.¹¹⁰

The fact that women have been turned into objects through history is, as Jalazai marks in a conclusive statement,

As can be seen in this discourse, not only are women defined as objects, they are defined as objects with a specific purpose: viz. as producers of children and as objects of sexual pleasure for men.¹¹¹

This objectification of women, in particular girls under eighteen years old, is specifically what we are going to explore in our case study. What happens to those girls who are objectified as trafficked prostitutes and what do pastoral care givers have to do with them? All these questions will find some answers in our case study. But for now we need to see what the situation is regarding women and power in the context of Taiwan.

II-6.7. Assessment: A Reflection from the Context of Taiwan

Taiwanese women's status has been damaged or disadvantaged by three ancient teachings regarding them. These teachings are: "Girls have more virtue if without intelligence", "Only girls/women and crooked people cannot be well cultivated" and "Girls should obey their fathers at home, obey their husbands once married, and obey their sons after their husbands have passed away."¹¹²

It is without doubt that these ancient Taiwanese sayings, originally derived from ancient Chinese tradition, were oriented for the benefit of chauvinist and patriarchal power and put women in a very disadvantaged position. Even though in modern Taiwan such concepts are not as prevalent as in the past, they are still very influential. For instance, when there is a need to choose between daughters and sons for higher education because of family financial problems, daughters are often the ones who need to give way to their brothers despite the fact that the daughters may be more

¹¹⁰ Ibid., p. 67.

¹¹¹ Ibid., p. 67.

¹¹² These three sayings in Chinese are "女子無才便是德", "惟女子與小人難養也" and "在家從父, 出嫁從夫, 夫死從子".

intelligent than the sons are, since the saying has said that “Girls have more virtue without intelligence”.

The other impact is that it is usually the husband who is in control of all the economic means and makes decisions for all the major issues of the family, because the wife needs to obey the husband as it is taught by the ancient saints. Wives in the family therefore have no means to the society to live independently; if their husbands pass away, they can only depend on their sons for their living. The idea behind these is similar to what Jalalzai addressed: women are objects for men to deal with or to take care of.

According to Li's research on Taiwanese women, one of their characteristics is “very relational”.¹¹³ They are relational to a degree that they are nameless: they are always someone's daughter, wife, mother or grandmother, rarely being mentioned by their own name. In particular, there are women who usually play a role of being silent and dumb. This means that, these women cannot participate in many social circumstances. They cannot spend time on ongoing conversation (they often need to do housework while the husband and friends are in dialogue) and they often lack essential communicating techniques because they have been deprived of higher education.

Another symptom that these silent and dumb women show is that they do not have courage to deal with the issues outside of their family chores. For things such as paying taxes and bills or going to the post office they depend on their husbands, sons, daughters, or people in the family from the younger generation who have higher education. The consequence is that these women's husbands then have the power in both the family and society. By contrast, women do not have power to stand up for themselves against domestic violence. Neither can they protect their daughters from being abused, no matter whether it is actual physical abuse by their husbands or sons or being sold to a brothel for commercial sexual transaction.

These silent women in Taiwanese society are in the high-risk group for being trapped into the commercial sexual business. Since they have been deprived the opportunity of having higher education before they married, and after they are married their husbands are in control of all the means of their lives, their capacity to live independently is much less than men's. (In other words, men hold most of the power

¹¹³ Hsiu -Yu Li, “Relational God, Relational Women”, Dissertation of Doctor of Ministry, (Berkeley, CA: Pacific School of Religion, 1994), Ch. 1.

in the family and hence in society, too.) Both situations are often found by the social workers of our case study in many of their prostituted clients. When we come to the later part of the discussion in our case study, we will be able to recognize the point.

Furthermore, the feminist movement does affect women's status in Taiwan, too. However, in the midst of women's assertion for gaining power to have a control over their own life in the family, many have blamed such women's liberation for the break down of the traditional image of nuclear family as a loving, warm and caring place. The complaint of one elder from the church I used to pastor was that the feminist movement needs to be responsible for many cases of the broken families, because that movement make many women do not want to keep their traditional roles as house wives.¹¹⁴

It is true that feminist movement have some impacts on the structure of the family in Taiwan. However, I would agree with Riet Bons-Storm that it is a necessary process to go through a chaotic stage of research into the meaning of the nuclear family. This should not stop the search for the new form of order even though it needs effort:

I want to contend that we cannot benevolently applaud women's liberation and not expect to be confronted by the break- down of good old classical nuclear family and its roles.¹¹⁵ And

I contend that we ought to have the courage to image chaos, that is: the absence of meaning and try to form a new order for the time being, looking at the Christian – if we choose to do so – for norms.¹¹⁶

But how should Christian pastoral care givers in Taiwan search for the new order and bravely face the questions for which that we may encounter and need to answer in our doing so? I would like to propose Bons' model of the new norms: that is, to allow everyone to develop their potential. We quote her statements below as our conclusion for the exploration of this section for

¹¹⁴ Elder Chang, Hsin Chung Presbyterian Church, Kaohsiung, Taiwan. We do not give ethical judgement for elder Chang's comment. This is only to give a descriptive statement for what people think about women's status should be in Taiwan, and how women are deemed as scapegoats for broken families.

¹¹⁵ Riet Bons-Storm, "The Power of Imagery in Pastoral Care and Counselling" in Paul Ballard and Pamela Couture, (eds.), *Creativity, Imagination, and Criticism*, (Cardiff: Cardiff Academic Press, 2001), pp. 185-188, p. 187.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 188.

women's relationship with power:

Norms could be: the body that may not be hurt, the integrity of every person that may not be damaged, a division of power that allows every-body to use its full positive potential. How can we image that? It needs effort....Perhaps a good exercise is to look at how we, deep in our heart, would wish our own family to be, the roles of ourselves if we got the chance, for our spouse, for our children. Where does our image of the ideal relationship, the ideal roles for men and women come from? ...¹¹⁷

¹¹⁷ Ibid., p. 188.

II-7. An Integration of Issues of Power in the Bible and Sociological Theories of Power—A Theological Reflection¹¹⁸

Issues of power; both in the collective domain and in interpersonal relationships, are a frequently occurring theme throughout the Bible, as we have explored from Ch. II-1 to 6 regarding governmentality, ideology, subjectivity, conflict, punishment, resistance and the objectification of women. We will examine where in the Bible has recorded these themes of power in this section.

II-7.1. The Judges as Charismatic Leaders

Before the establishment of kingship in Israel, the Judges played the role of charismatic leaders; when the Lord's spirit was upon them, people would recognize their leadership and the legitimate authority to lead seemed granted to them (Judge 3: 9-10, 15; 6: 14; 15:17). Otherwise before the advent of God's Spirit, they are like the other ordinary people living an ordinary life such as Amos described himself (Amos. 1: 1). Cases can also be seen in Gideon, Samson and the other judges.

II-7.2. The legitimate Governmentality of Kingship in Israel

The legitimacy of being a king of Israel began with the anointing of the priest, Samuel. However, as we explored in the previous section of this chapter and as Foucault observes, power tends to be abused. When a more lasting power system was about to be established, the Israelites were warned by the Lord about the possibility of power being abused (I Sam. 8-9). Since then the history of Israel in the Bible became a history of abused governmental power and how the power struggle between Northern and Southern kingdom persisted (I& II chronicles; I & II kings). Examples can be seen in King David's killing of Uriah, a faithful ordinary Israelite, in order to acquire his wife (II Sam. 11), Solomon's recruiting labours to build a palace for his own enjoyment (I King. 9: 15-22; 12: 9), Queen Jezebel's plot to take over her neighbour's land (I King 21) and General Haman's strategy to slaughter all the Israelites in his country (Esther 3). These are merely a selection of the myriad of similar cases.

¹¹⁸ There may be multiple biblical references for the same issues of power, so, in what follows we just list some representative passages.

II-7.3. The Art of Playing with Ideologies to Manipulate People's Thoughts in the Bible

Ideologies can influence people's actions, but are not necessarily true, as we have explored in Ch. II-4. The art of using ideology to control people's behaviour is not difficult to find in the Bible, either. The group of people who made particular use of this technique is the Pharisees and priests in Jesus time. They taught their people that "If a man says to his father or mother: 'Whatever help you might otherwise have received from me is Corban (that is, a gift devoted to God)', then you no longer let him do anything for his father or mother." (Mk. 7: 13) They said that on Sabbath one is not supposed to labour for anything, even healing sick people or saving an animal that had fallen into a ditch on that day were considered unlawful. (They said that women who committed idolatry needed to be stoned to death; therefore once they found one they could hardly wait to stone her to death. But they did not even think any punishment for the man who did the same thing with that woman.)¹¹⁹

And finally, among their tactics of manipulating people by the established ideologies, the utmost one was that they used what Israelites respected most, Jehovah God and the Temple Worship, to plot against Jesus, by charging him as a deviant for blaspheming the Lord's name and the Temple. Such a charge for Jesus is to serve the purpose of them, to nail him on the cross as a ferocious criminal (Mk. 14: 50-65).

Pharisees and the scribes held the authority to interpret the Word of God at that time. This coupled with the general populace's reliance on this interpretation allowed the Scribes and Pharisees to exploit the people by sophistically interpreting the word of God. These examples from the Bible shows us that how the powerful in the Bible could influence the public's way of thinking and behaving just through manipulating some ideologies.

II-7.4. The Subjective Awareness against the Power Holder's Abusing their Power

The Prophet Elijah's performance against the Queen's four hundred prophets to see whose God is more powerful (I Kgs. 18: 16-40) epitomises the action of a deviant, whose subjective awareness challenged the set ideologies (see II-4) of the powerful

¹¹⁹ However these ideologies according to their interpretations or understanding of the law were not endorsed by Jesus, the utmost standard of ethical judgment in Christian faith.

and the officials. Among other cases of rebelling against contemporary systems of power, the leading of the outcasts by David in a revolt against King Saul is prominent in the record of the Old Testament. Nevertheless, David's subjectivity to claim his own right of survival was in fact forced by Saul himself. David did not intend to crown himself as a king; rather it was because of Saul's persecution that he had to flee to the forest. In order to save himself from Saul, David needed to assert his right of living and to be against Saul. He started to recruit his own followers from the forest where he found refuge. However from Saul's perspective, David's action was rebellious. He claimed to the people who were under his rule that what David did was against his kingdom, so he needed to kill him. In this sense, David was thinking from outside of Saul's standard of "right and wrong"; he had his own subjective judgment and neglected the ideologies that Saul set for his people. David knew that his first priority was merely trying to save his own live (I Sam. 16-31).

The subjective voices against the prevailing ideologies that emphasize the selfish enjoyment of luxury by the noble classes and the corruption of the use of power could be represented by prophets' prophetic sayings. But the prophets' voices are more often deemed as a resistance to the corruptive power of their time, cases as such can be seen from Amos' proclamation against the rich in his society (Amos. 5-8; also see II-7.5).

In the New Testament, Jesus came to demonstrate to the people of his time what it was like to assert the self's subjectivity against the abused interpretation of God's word by the Scribes and Pharisees. In Jesus' time the authority of interpreting God's word was granted to Pharisees and Scribes. They interpreted the scripture and demanded their contemporaries to behave accordingly. Jesus did not submit to the scribes' and Pharisees' demands on how he should behave, so that he could behave differently from them. Therefore he often proclaimed to his people, "You have heard that..., but I tell you...." (Mt. 5-6) This way of provoking the subjective awareness of the people was to think from outside of the structured pattern of the scribes and the Pharisees (Mt. 5-6; 23: 1-39, also ref. section II-4 of this thesis). But the individual who dares to think differently against the prevailing belief structure, value system or ideology must pay the cost; they must not care whether those in power can persecute them. People who asserted their subjectivities against any of the prevailing norms of the society generally had to pay some cost. It was very clear that one of these costs incurred by Jesus was death on the cross; it was his assertion of subjectivity against the power holders' ideologies that caused them to put him on the

cross (Mt. 26: 59-67; Mk. 14: 53-63; Lk. 23: 13-25).

II-7.5. Conflict, Deviance, Resistance and Punishment

The proclamation the prophets made to demand love and mercy toward the poor and the marginalized such as widows and orphans were constantly in conflict with their contemporary power holders' interests and intentions. The punishment from the office holder that tried to silence the deviant or rebellious voices and hence fell upon the prophets was thus imminent and severe according to what is recorded in the Bible. Examples include Elijah's need to flee to the wilderness lest he should be pursued to death by the queen after he boldly stood up against her corruption of the traditional Yahweh worship (I Kg. 18: 20-19: 14).

Jeremiah's recommendation to surrender to the enemy instead of fighting for the country was perhaps the most surprising one to his people, as what Jeremiah proclaimed was against his contemporary's ideology or value system. The resulting punishment conferred on him by the governmental authority of his time was to be confined in the deep hole with his feet in the mud for a very long period of time and only live on a piece of bread daily (Jer. 38). Daniel and his friends dared to resist and say "no" to their king's demand to violate what their faith taught them. This resulted in them being sentenced to be thrown into the lions' den or into the fire (Dan. 6).

Conflicts were found also between the groups of Sadducees and Pharisees in the New Testament time in competing for their different convictions on the resurrection and the conflicting interests (Mt. 22: 23-45). Neither can the apostles be exempted from conflict for pursuing of future glory with Jesus for themselves (Mk. 10: 35-45).

The early Christians' innovation of living together sharing everything with one another was certainly a kind of deviant behaviour in the eyes of their contemporaries (Act. 2; 4: 32-35). Christians after Jesus' death may be deemed as "rebel of the Jew's belief" (Act. 10: 9-23; 15) and Paul was undoubtedly a deviant in the judgment of the Pharisee class (Act. 17: 1-15; 20: 17-21).

Even in the New Testament period, again, punishment of those who did not conform to the social norm was severe; as we have mentioned, adulterous women had to be stoned to death. But the most tragic one is the crucifixion of Jesus on the cross as a criminal. What Jesus did, healing, teaching and preaching, offended the power

holding groups of his time such as priests, Pharisees and scribes (Jn. 11:45-52). In other words, Jesus did not conform to the norm set by the priests or Pharisees of his time, which incurred the wrath of those in power and with it the cruellest punishment of their time: the crucifixion (Mt. 27: 33-44; Lk. 23: 33-44).

II-7.6. Women and Power in the Bible

There are many perspectives from which we can address on the Women in the Bible. In this section we are addressing women as a category of the marginalized from the perspective of issues of power. Women in the Bible times were marginalized and as such oppressed by various powers. Biblical accounts of issues regarding women's power issues include the story of how the woman, caught whilst committing adultery, was going to be punished by stoning to death, while we do not hear how the same group of people dealt with her male partner, that is, we have no record to say that the man who also committed adultery got any punishment (Jn. 8: 1-11). Women's lives depended on their husbands; they could not work outside of their home. Therefore their existence was under the power of their husbands and once their husband passed away they could only depend on their sons or the help from others for their living. Such case can be seen from the stories of Ruth and Naomi (Book of Ruth). Most of them were also nameless.¹²⁰ Therefore we can see from the Bible only "the Shunammite" (II Kg. 4: 12) for the woman who provided Elisha's needs (II Kg. 4: 8-37) and "Jephthah's daughter" for the girl who sacrificed her marriage for the sake of her father's impetuous vow to the Lord (Judges 11: 29-40).

The women's status in the culture of Biblical times was such that, within the family situation, all the power was held in men's hand so that if a woman's husband died, she needed to marry his husband's brothers otherwise she would not have the capacity to live independently (Ruth 1: 1-14). And in the New Testament, we can find that women's status were subordinate as children who needed to be taken care of. Therefore, Jesus needed to entrust his mother to John before he died on the cross (Jn. 19: 25-27).

¹²⁰ See Li's description of women's characteristics in modern Taiwan in "Relational God, Relational women", Introduction. We have addressed this point in the previous section "Power and Women". Most of women in Taiwan when were mentioned were only referred as someone's wife, daughter or mother, not their own names.

II-7.7. Conclusion: Pastoral Care Providers Provide Powers of Resistance

What does God demand his people to do with their power in view of so many instances of power abuse in the human world? The general answer is to act justly, to demonstrate mercy and to walk humbly in accordance with God's will as commanded in Micah 6: 8

He has showed you, O man, what is good. And what does the Lord require of you? To act justly and to love mercy and to walk humbly with your God.¹²¹

The pastoral care provider is to resist and contend against unjust situations on behalf of the "powered-over" or mistreated ones as taught in the above Scripture passage on the basis of Micah's injunction "to act justly and to love mercy". There are three types of intervention which provides for powers of resistance, all of which have their foundation in the description of Biblical tradition. The first type of intervention is direct confrontation. When there were cases of power abuse, God sent messengers such as the prophets to intervene. For instance, God sent the prophet Nathan to admonish David after he killed Uriah (II Samuel 11:2-12: 25). In the case of corruption within social culture, God sent the prophet Amos to warn the corrupted rich or powerful classes in that society (Amos 8: 4-8). The second type of intervention is to empower the oppressed. This can be seen from the prophets' proclamation to the oppressed in order to encourage and comfort them by granting promises of divine providence. This type of intervention is akin to that described in Isaiah 9: 1-2, "Nevertheless there will be no more gloom for those who were in distress...the people who walking in darkness have seen a great light; on those living in the land of the shadow of death, a light has dawned." Isaiah's prophecy was given for the strengthening of Israel's faith in Yahweh in a time of crisis in Israel's history.

The third type of intervention requires third party intervention in the context of the oppressed situation so as to provide for the power of resistance against the oppressing powers. Cases of this type are seen from examples like that of Boas who undertook to provide for the need of Naomi, and that of Esther who pleaded before the king for the life of the Israelites. The high point and decisive instance of such an intervention is seen in Jesus' redeeming act on the cross against oppressing powers.

¹²¹ Bible (NIV), Micah 6:8.

As Poling describes: "Jesus' resistance to evil discloses that resistance to evil is a fundamental attribute of God and humans."¹²² He asserts: "The incarnation of God in Jesus the Christ is simultaneously revelation of what has always been the case, vindication of this enduring if concealed and distorted reality, and promise and prophecy of its greater future fulfilment."¹²³

Certainly if we search the entire Bible, we can find many examples to inform the themes of power which we want to address. However, in this section we are not trying to prove the existence of issues of power, nor are we trying to resolve the problems of power abuse. Rather, our purpose is to integrate the sociological findings on major themes of power with the Biblical tradition, and further search on what God expects a pastoral care provider to do in cases of power abuse.

Our findings show that for all the above major themes in the sociological study of power, we can also find them described in the Bible within its own context. It is evident everywhere in the relationships of people in the Biblical era and there were also many cases of power abuse by those who are in power. Furthermore, our findings also demonstrate the existence of powers of resistance in cases of power abuse as some sociologists predict.¹²⁴ In all the above types of intervention, resources for power of resistance according to Biblical tradition come from God.¹²⁵

In the New Testament, God's intervention is further revealed in the life of Jesus Christ. Wink has perceived the way that Jesus responded to the issues of power as the third way of doing. His statement can be a more concrete explanation for what it means by Poling's concept of Jesus as a resister. We conclude with Wink's description on Jesus' Third Way for dealing with the powers in order to sum up the argument that there is correspondence between the types of intervention identified and the biblical tradition in which the intervention of Jesus is the climax:

Seize the moral initiative

Find a creative alternative to violence

¹²² Poling defines evil from the perspective that appeared in human evil doings. James Newton Poling, *Deliver Us from Evil* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1996), P. 157.

¹²³ Ibid., p. 177.

¹²⁴ Regarding power of resistance, please reference II-5 of this chapter.

¹²⁵ We are not trying to do in depth exegetical work for the Bible passage here. Neither do we intend to involve into different trend of Biblical debate regarding the meaning of the content of the Bible passage. What we try to do is to guide our readers to see where in the Bible are the illustrative examples for the point we make.

Assert your own humanity and dignity as a PERSONAL Meet [sic]
 force with ridicule or humour
 Break the cycle of humiliation
 Refuse to submit to or to accept the inferior position
 Expose the injustice of the system
 Take control of the power dynamic
 Shame the oppressor into repentance
 Stand your ground
 Make the Powers make decisions for which they are not prepared
 Recognise your own power
 Be willing to suffer rather than retaliate
 Force the oppressor to see you in a new light
 Deprive the oppressor of a situation where a show of force is effective
 Be willing to undergo the penalty of breaking unjust laws
 Die to fear of the old order and its rules
 Seek the oppressor's transformation¹²⁶

After examining these themes in both the contemporary context of Taiwan and in the life context of people in Biblical times, we will go on in the next chapter to explore whether pastoral care providers, in caring for people in their community, experience struggles that relate to these themes of power. If they do, how do they deal with those power issues and are there principles that can be drawn from their doings for the future references of the pastoral care providers? This will be done through the stories and sayings of people in the context of Taiwan's collective domain.

¹²⁶ Walter Wink, "Jesus' Third Way: Nonviolent Engagement" in *Engaging the Powers* (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1992), pp. 175-193, p. 186-187. For Wink's description of Jesus' non-violent way of combating with the powers, after we have examined our case study, what GOH have done for the girl prostitutes, we will have a better understanding for what this description really meant in pastoral caring practice. Please see conclusion of this thesis.

Chapter III. Case Study of Garden of Hope (I)

Introduction

In the previous chapter we have explored the first part of what will eventually constitute a pastoral theology - theological reflections on the theories of power. In the following two chapters we will explore the second part - the caring activities of a pastoral care provider.

What kind of caring activities a pastoral care provider should provide is dependent on who the care providers and the recipients are. Different people have different needs, are in different power relationships and therefore have different issues of power needs to be dealt with. On the other hand, different care providers have their own limitations in terms of what they can do and what resources they can provide for those in need. Therefore if we want to discuss the perspectives of caring activities which issue from a pastoral theology regarding issues of power, we can only target a specific subject to discuss. In this thesis, we target female prostitutes under the age of eighteen as clients to be cared for. The pastoral care provider is the Christian institution of the Garden of Hope in Taiwan.

In the following, we will first describe the methodology of how the resources and the information in this thesis were gathered during a four months field trip to Taiwan (III-1). Secondly, we will give a literature survey on the global issues of women and girl trafficking for prostitution. From the literature we have surveyed we found that girl prostitution has become a global concern, not only in Taiwan and Asia, but also on the continent. Such a fact makes our case study more significant for our research (III-2). Thirdly, we will explore the issues of girl prostitution within the specific geographical context of Taiwan. Specifically, we will examine how the girl prostitutes came to be what they are and what it is like to be one. Namely, what kinds of power issues have “trapped” them to become girl prostitutes (III-3. forward).

The reason for such a selection of the care provider and their targeted clients we have stated in the introduction of this thesis. It is not only because of the researcher has deep relational connection with the institution but also because of the nature of the Garden of Hope's (GOH) ministries, dealing with the girl prostitutes in Taiwan, illustrate many aspects of power struggles. The women in the field of commercial sexual transaction are often marginalized and, for centuries, have been treated as

objects. Among the marginalized categories of woman prostitutes, girl prostitutes are powerless in a sense that they are still under the care of their guardian before they reach their adulthood and therefore they can be very easily manipulated by all sorts of power including the guardian power of their parents. Furthermore, the girl prostitutes' rehabilitation is different from the female adult prostitutes such as they are still within the age of formal schooling and therefore their rehabilitation will need to consider how to help them go back to their formal education, their psychological and physical being are not fully developed yet so that the possibility to rehabilitate them is greater than the adult prostitutes, etc.

In this chapter we will examine the causes of their becoming the objects of sexual transactions, the motivations to escape the life of being a girl prostitutes, what kind of help they need in terms of the power relationship they are involved in and how a pastoral care provider can help them. Therefore, in terms of issues of power in our case study of the Garden of Hope and girl prostitutes the specific research questions aimed at in this first part of our case study are as follows: "What is it like the enterprise of commercial sexual transaction in Taiwan?" "What kind of power relationships are the prostituted girls involved in?" "What is it like for these girls to be under those power relationships?" "What do the Governmental laws in Taiwan say regarding girl prostitution?" "What can the pastoral care provider do for them?" With the exploration of these questions, we will be able to see how the themes of power that we discuss extensively in chapter II influence the girl prostitutes' life or drove them into prostitution in the first place. We will be able to see how the girl prostitutes were trapped by neglect or loopholes in governmental law, how they lost their subjective decision-making capacity through the power abuse of parents or guardians.

We will also discuss how the girl prostitutes have been used as objects of sex to satisfy the desires of many men who were influenced by the power of ancient ideologies that encourage men to have sexual relationships with virgin girls than with mature women. We will also turn our attention to some of the girl prostitutes who carry out commercial sexual transactions out of their own subjective perception of a need to help their family out of a financial crisis despite the risk of being deemed as deviant in the society of Taiwan. On the other hand we will also explore how some of the girls were tempted to do the commercial transaction voluntarily by the prevailing young people's value system as expressed in some Taiwanese ideologies.

Finally in the last part of this chapter we will examine how the Garden of Hope deal with all the above power issues that the girl prostitutes involved and how they provide their pastoral caring activities for the girls and how the pastoral caring activities the GOH provide relate to issues of power.

III-1. Methodology of the Case Study

III-1.1. A Brief Description of the Institution of Garden of Hope

In what follows, we are only giving a brief sketch of the mission of the Garden of Hope in terms of their goal of providing pastoral caring activities to the girl prostitutes, their clients, the characteristics of these girls, the problems of power issues in their relationships and the caring activities that GOH have done to help the girl prostitutes deal with the power issues that have trapped them.

The reason for only giving a brief description in this section is to prevent repetition and the unsatisfactory feeling of not getting enough in-depth exploration, because in what follows after this sections in this chapter (Ch. III) and the next chapter (Ch. IV) we will give an in-depth exploration of all the above issues. Therefore in this section we only provide the readers a brief sketch of the institution of the Garden of Hope and the goal for their establishment in the first place. After the in-depth exploration of the nature of what the Garden of Hope do for the prostituted girls and how they do it, we will be able to see a holistic picture of what the institution of Garden Hope did for the girl prostitutes, and the interactions between GOH and their clients whilst they walk together to deal with the power issues that were relevant to them.

III-1.1.1. The institution of the Garden of Hope and the original goals for their pastoral caring activities to be achieved

The Garden of Hope is an institution founded in Taiwan in 1988. The goal of its establishment was to rescue girl and youth prostitutes out of their oppressed situations and help them to go back to “normal” lives, normal in the sense that they no longer live as prostitutes. However, to realise such a good intention needs a big effort from various perspectives such as, firstly, to help them get out the pimp’s control, secondly, to keep them in a safe place so that they don’t get caught back and thirdly, to guide them toward the recovery from their past wounds.

From her work with the girl prostitutes at a governmental run rehabilitation centre as an English teacher and counsellor, Angie Golman, an American missionary in Taiwan, identified many loopholes in the treatment of the Taiwanese government of the prostituted girls. Those loopholes needed to be remedied along with other procedures, such as counselling for the girls’ past wounds. Starting from such recognition, she

sensed the call from the Lord to establish a half way home for the rehabilitation of the caught and rescued prostituted girls. From the beginning of the establishment of the Garden of Hope, she knew that the girls' rehabilitation would be a long process to reach the goal; her goal is to help the prostituted girls back to a normal life. Even though Golman had envisioned the difficulties of running a halfway home like GOH, her Christian faith had made her to do it. She claimed in an article that this was based on the biblical scripture, "The Zeal of the Lord will accomplish it." (Isaiah 37:32) Together with the original workers who shared the same vision with Golman, the Garden of Hope had their first rented office in Oct. 1987, and officially registered as a non-profit organisation in 1988. The people who helped with the establishment of the Garden of Hope include the representatives from the Presbyterian Churches in Taiwan, the World vision in Taiwan, the Baptist mission organization in Taiwan, the Social Welfare Department of Taipei City Council. Therefore GOH is a non-denominational organization.¹ However, the key figures in this stage of founding are members of the Presbyterian Churches in Taiwan, such as the chair person of the first Board of Trustee, Rev. Chern Chong San and the first general executive, Wang Huei Liang Wang.² Below is the picture of one of the founders of GOH, Liang Wang (left).



¹ GOH, "The History of the Garden of Hope" in Yia Chin Hsui, (ed.), *The Beautiful World of the Garden of Hope: Journal of Working at the Halfway Home of GOH* (Taipei: GOH, 2002), pp. 4-19. Angie Golman was called back to America before the GOH was officially founded in 1988. So, this is from GOH's archive record.

² Rev. Chern Chong San, interview.

III-1.1.2. The clients targeted to receive the pastoral caring activities of GOH

This case study of Garden of Hope (GOH) is an exploration of caring for the weak and marginalized. The young oppressed girls are forced by the family or by the capitalist consumer culture of the society into prostitution. Prostitution seems common in every country of the world. But what makes Garden of Hope different from the other similar institution is that the objects of their ministry are girls under age of 18. According to the constitution of Taiwan, these girls have not reached their adulthood and therefore cannot be judged according to the judicial law for the adults. In other words, these girls should be under the guardian responsibilities of their parents.

III-1.1.3. The past and present situations

This institution now has annual budget of 80,000,000 NT (1,300,000 Sterling pounds) and 90 full time staff. It has branches in major cities of Taiwan, Taichong in the midwest, Kaohsiung in the south, and Hwalian in the east coast of Taiwan.³ However, this institution was started from zero by an American missionary and a Presbyterian lay lady, Mrs. Liang Wang. Mrs. Wang had worked with Angie Golman at the centre of woman rehabilitation, but later needed to take over the task of establishing the Garden of Hope, a half way home for the prostituted girls, after Golman was called back to America.⁴

III-1.1.4. The life at administrative work of GOH from the perspective of the interviewer

From the outside, Garden of Hope is no different from any other social welfare institution. Their office is located on the seventh and eighth floors at one of the central districts in the capital of Taiwan, Taipei. Once we get out of the elevator, the main door of the GOH and their reception desk can be seen from there. The first floor of their offices is divided into the offices of their social work department, the developmental department, the resource department, the office of the chief executive

³ At the time of my interview with Rev. Chern Chong San, summer 2003.

⁴ In fact, after Angie Golman had the vision to establish a halfway home, the Garden of Hope for the girl prostitutes, but before the Garden of Hope had opportunity to be established, Angie Golman had been called back to America by her missionary organization and therefore needed to pass her vision of GOH to Mrs. Liang Wang. However, Garden of Hope still claims Angie Golman as one of their original founders. Interview with Wang Huei Liang Wang, one of the founder of GOH.

of GOH, the big meeting room and two counselling rooms.

The counselling department is on the second floor of their office (the eighth floor of the whole building). It had been newly set up and enlarged. The rate of the administrative works is rapid; the workers of GOH are busy in attending the meetings, receiving phone calls, organising routine duties of the individual workers, etc. But when it comes to lunch time you can hear their laughter and see them in groups of two or three going out for lunch together.

Every Tuesday after lunch time “The Time of Garden of Hope” is held in the big meeting hall. The nature of this meeting is for the understanding and nourishing of Christian faith for the workers of GOH. This is perhaps one of the major distinguishing characteristics of GOH. When I interviewed the participants, Christians and non-Christians alike said that they all enjoyed this time as it was perhaps the only “official” time they can share casually with each other and get away from their official work. In fact, it seems that non-Christian workers enjoyed it more than Christian workers, from the percentages of the participants. The non-Christian workers said they were not against Christianity and from the beginning of joining this institution they have been notified that GOH is based on the principles of Christian faith in their works for the girl prostitutes.⁵ The first picture below was taken from one service of “The Time of Garden of Hope” while I was with them in the four months of field work. The second one was taken in their annual conference for their staff’s training.

⁵ Interview with attendants of the meeting such as general secretary in different section of the GOH time in the summer of 2003. My interpretation for such a tendency is that Christian workers of GOH have their own engagements in their own churches and they may think they were not so much in need to attend such a meeting of “nurturing and understanding Christian faith”. Since the meeting is voluntary, most of the Christian workers skip it to do their own chores. However, the non-Christian workers I interviewed they all responded very positively to such a time of sharing and getting together.



Another scene for the administrative workers of GOH is that even after regular office hours, there are still many workers working at their desks. It seems that not many of them are in a hurry to go home. GOH let their workers make up their working hours by themselves. If they work longer, they can take off the surplus time whenever it is convenient. In this way, it is very interesting to see that no one is hurrying home after the regular working hours.

So, from the administrative offices and works of GOH, people can hardly tell what differentiates this institution has from other institutions.

III-1.1.5. The life at halfway home of GOH

If the administrative works and offices do not distinguish the GOH from other similar institutions, then the life at halfway home perhaps contributes some differences between GOH from other institutions. Halfway homes were originally set by GOH to provide the rescued girl prostitutes a place to stay for their rehabilitation. For the in-depth exploration of the functions of halfway home, the types of halfway home, the programmes designed for the girls who live there and the power issues encountered by the workers and the girls who live there we will be examined in chapter IV. Here we only give a sketch of what is like to be in a halfway home.

After getting out of the life at a brothel, if the girls choose to stay at the halfway home of GOH, they start their journey with the company of GOH.⁶ GOH helps them to get into school or offers some courses at home for them to study again. For other girls who do not fit into schooling, GOH helps them to find a suitable job. In the meantime GOH disciplines them to prepare them for ordinary life of other girls of their age in the society, either in schooling, working or family life.

The location and the life in halfway homes are supposed to be kept private for the sake of security. Both workers and the girls who live there are required to sign an agreement not to let outsiders know the house location, telephone number, the details of their life there and who they really are, etc.⁷ They keep very low key contact with their neighbours, lest they should be questioned about their background. Even when they need to pay the bills or to ask repair persons to come to fix the facilities of the

⁶ The possibilities for the girl prostitutes to stay at the halfway home of GOH, please reference Ch. IV. "A Long Journey toward Recovery - In the Halfway Home."

⁷ A sample of the form is in Appendix II of this thesis. The sample is provided by the executive of the Department of Social Work of the GOH.

house, the workers of the GOH treat them with a very polite and yet distant attitude.

For the sake of research, I was privileged to visit one of the half way home of GOH in Taipei.⁸ It is a four bedroom flat at the ground floor of the building. The facilities inside of the flat are no different from other middle class family: a big living room with a piano for the purposes of meeting and holding classes for the girls and in the kitchen there are microwave and refrigerators. Eight girls live in four bedrooms, two in each room with bunk beds, closet and study desks in each room.

In their daily life in the halfway home, other than working outside of the home and going to school, the girls need to take turns to shop and cook for all the girls' meals and cleaning the house. The social workers and house mothers supervise these duties. According to the sharing of the chaplain, who is also responsible for the girls' life at halfway home, to have a meal together means a lot to these girls. Not only is this a kind of discipline to prepare them the works of their own family in the future, but it is also a time for them to have all kinds of conversations including the topics of Christian faith and the joy of an ordinary family life.⁹

During weekdays, for those girls who need to have schooling and yet cannot catch up the regular progress of the normal schooling, GOH arrange with their school to have remedial classes at the house. Therefore the living room of the house is often used as classroom to teach the required courses just for two or three of these girls. The GOH acquires for these girls resources such as retired teachers or competent personnel from some churches to do voluntary teaching for these girls.

On some nights of weekdays or weekends, these girls may have the opportunity to go out for social activities such as attending concerts or performances. Some organizations may offer tickets for these girls to go in the company of workers of GOH. The picture below showed the art crafts the girls did in a class held at the half way home.¹⁰

⁸ There are three types of halfway home depending on the length of the girls' staying and their adjustment at halfway homes, see p. 120, below.

⁹ Interview with the chaplain of GOH, Yia Chin Hsui.

¹⁰ Picture provider, one of the house mother of the GOH.



There are three types of half way home of GOH; the three types differ in the degree of freedom the tenants are permitted according to their progress of the rehabilitation at GOH.¹¹ As for the girls in the third stage of staying at the house of GOH, they are free to go by themselves (please see the discussion on next chapter, Ch. IV). On Sunday, the girls will be recommended to go to Sunday service at the church of which the chaplain have informed and discussed with the minister the identity of the girls lest they should stigmatised or be harshly questioned after the service. Every night, the girls have their own prayer time overseen by a worker of GOH. The hope of the prayer time is that the girls can ask for help by themselves to the transcendent One for the problems in their lives.¹²

The life at halfway home perhaps is one of the major differences between GOH and other institutions. But from the outside they are as normal as the other middle class family homes, and this is the impression and reality GOH endeavours to provide for the society and the prostituted girls. Nevertheless, the life at halfway home also involves power struggles as these girls walk in the journey of their recovery. Why and in what way? For this we will discuss in the next chapter, "In the Half Way Home -- A Long Journey Toward Recovery". We now need to give some descriptions for how I do the interviews at GOH and collect the information I need for this research.

¹¹ For the detailed exploration of the three types of the halfway home, please reference chapter IV-3.1.2.

¹² Interview with the chaplain of the GOH.

III-1.2. The Process of Field Work with the Garden of Hope in Taiwan¹³

III-1.2.1. The Preliminary Work

- To get the permission from the institution before taking off.

I had planned a four months field trip, from May to the end of August in 2003, to be with the institution of Garden of Hope in Taipei, Taiwan. Before I went for the field trip, I already got the permission from the chief executive of GOH to do research at their institution.

- To give detailed description of nature of the research to the key figures of the institution.

After I arrived in Taipei, Taiwan, I first made a dinner appointment with the chief executive and the chaplain of GOH to give a more detailed explanation for what my research was all about. The chief executive agreed to send an e-message to all her staff to inform them to cooperate with my doing research with them. Furthermore, both of them promised to provide name of the key representatives from different departments within their institution so that I could schedule time with them to interview them. Such a preliminary work was very important and the information they provided was very helpful. Otherwise I would need to take much longer time to know the main representatives in each department of GOH and get the cooperation from them.

¹³ The processes of doing interview and field work are mainly based on the methodology we discussed in chapter I (I-2), regarding letting the local people to speak for themselves for what they have done in their own context for the sake of contextualisation. Also taking some references from the following books that address methodology: Alan Bryman, (ed.), *Doing Research in Organizations* (London: Routledge, 1988); Wendy Gordon, *Good Thinking: A Guide to Qualitative Research*. (Henley on Thames: Admap, 1999); Kathleen de, Marais, (ed.), *Insider Stories: Qualitative Research Reflections* (Mahwah NJ: L.Erlbaum, 1997). Jennifer Mason, *Qualitative Researching* (London: Sage, 1996); Amanda Repo Tawai Thomson, *Researching Sexual Abuse: Using Feminist Methodologies in Researching Women's Experiences of Breaking their Silence and Accessing Services*, (Caledonian Paper), (Glasgow: Glasgow Caledonian University, 1998). Pertti, Alasuutari, *Researching Culture: Qualitative Method and Cultural Studies* (London: Sage, 1995); Norman Denzin, and Yvonna Lincoln, (eds.) *Handbook of Qualitative Research* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 1994).

- The possible suspicions

The above preliminary work may raise a suspicion that GOH might provide the kind of staff that would only speak good things for the institution. However, such a suspicion can be abated by the fact that they also give me freedom to schedule with any staff that I would like to talk with. This freedom decreases the possibility that I only interviewed staff who are not hostile toward the policy of the institution or that I only received positive information about the institution.

III-1.2.2. The work done during four months with the Institution¹⁴

- The literature survey.

Before I actually started my interviewing the individual staff of GOH, I first did some survey for the relevant literature published in Taiwan and also by GOH itself so that I can have a general idea for the works they have done and have kept the records so far. This process is important for my later interviews. If the interviews contains materials that are in the records of their publication, then I can get the permission right away to quote from those publication for my future writing without their repetition within the time span of the interview. This saved time in each interview, in particular when there were many questions that needed to be discussed in a section of the interview.

- The scheduled interviews.

The most important work in the field work during the four months with the institution is interviewing the personnel concerned. However, the pace of working in GOH was very fast and most of workers were busy in their daily duties. I have to schedule every individual interview with them beforehand. The chief executive very kindly assigned me a desk to work and allowed me to use any of their available counselling rooms to do the interview with their staff. For each scheduled staff interviewee, I gave them notification beforehand that the interview might last as long as two hours so that they could know when they could go back to their work.

¹⁴ Again, we reference the books listed in the previous footnote and combine their opinions of how to gather information in doing research with an organization.

- The notification of the confidentiality.

While interviewing, first I got the permission from them to tape what they said and let them know that the materials may be used in my thesis. I also let them understand that the content of they said, other than what may be used in my thesis, would be confidential. I would not let their executives know. When they were talking and answering my questions (see below, the research questions) I taped what they said. I wrote down some key points once in a while so that I could catch the key points for what they described when I reviewed the notes afterward.

- To explicate the interviewer's identity and the nature of the research to all the staff of the institution.

The facts that I am an ordained Presbyterian pastor and I am going to do the research at GOH on issue of power have been told in the e-message the chief executive sent to the staff. However, I still explicate my identity as an ordained Christian pastor in the beginning of each individual interview.

- To make the interview a pleasant time of being together.

The time of interview turned out to be very pleasant and relaxing one; some interviewees even told me that somehow they enjoyed to be interviewed because they can have a break from their busy routine works.

- To be aware of the possible bias in the contents of interviewed.

Regarding whether there are biases in what the interviewee told me, some of them shared with me that they were very happy that they could have a channel to speak out what they complained about the institution and some of the unpleasant management practices. They told me that they would be happy if their complaints could be listened by some of their executives. So from what the staff told me, my concern that my data gathering might have bias because of a conspiracy of the staff was very much minimized.

- How the interviewer's identity may influence the interview.

The fact that I am an ordained Christian pastor seemingly did not bother the

interviewees; neither did it bias their revealing inner thoughts about their working at GOH. On the contrary, from what I perceived from the interviewing some non-Christians, they seemed to trust more the woman clergy from the church. No matter what, as we have mentioned above, they seemed enjoyed being with me during the two hours of interview and almost answered every questions I have asked them. They even agreed to let me offer a prayer and blessing for their works at the end of the interview.

- To do interviews also at the branches of Garden of Hope.

During the four months in Taiwan with GOH, I also needed to travel to different cities in Taiwan to do my interviews. The institution of GOH has grown within the past fifteen years so that it has branches set all around Taiwan such as Taichong, in the middle west of Taiwan and Kaohsiung, in the southern part of Taiwan. In order to get the whole picture of the institution, I also travelled to these cities and scheduled interview time with the staffs working at these branches. During the four months of being with them, they had their annual training conference held at the city of Hsinchu for all their staff in Taiwan. I also went with them at that two day conference. Even in the same city, Taipei, they had different department at different towns, where they had training programs for the girls. So I also need to travel to the different towns within metropolitan Taipei.¹⁵

- The difficulties of the collection of the resources.

In the year when I was doing my interviews at GOH (2003), they were celebrating the fifteenth anniversary of their establishment. It means the establishment of the GOH has been fifteen years ago, many important figures in their history may not be present anymore in their works or even had passed away. For instance, many girls who had been cared by them had left the halfway home, however, the staff of GOH

¹⁵ The above is the methodology of doing interviews in this thesis. In gathering these materials I have tried to be as objective as possible as described above. However, there have been debates on whether sociological research and its investigation can be totally free from bias or prejudice. Abercrombie has drawn some conclusion for the theories to support the concept that "it is unlikely for sociological knowledge to be objective". Some of his points are listed as follows: (1) "Sociological judgements are subjective, being coloured by actors' own experience." (2) "All prepositions are limited in their meaning to particular language contexts." (3) "All sociological theories are produced and limited to particular social group." (4) "All observation are necessarily theory-laden." And (5) "All members of society have different values, sociologists will unconsciously but necessarily, have their arguments influenced by their values." Nicholas Abercrombie, Stephen Hill and Bryan S. Turner, "objectivity", in *The Penguin Dictionary of Sociology* (London: Penguin book, 1988). p. 170.

thought their stories were worthy to recall, then they would still tell me those girls' stories. Furthermore, the staff who had been involved in the issues in the past might not remember exactly what happened in the past, their memories had been blurred by the time. So, often in the interview they could only give me some general ideas and asked me where to find detailed information in their archives. Such a fact we can see more clearly in our later discussions that some quotations we have information from both interview and the archive collection of GOH. As for people who worked for GOH but now are in abroad or even have passed away, our remedy is to get resources from the archive and publication of GOH.

III-1.3.The division for the chapters of the research for case study

In order to analyse the power struggles which have faced GOH since its inception, we divide this case study into two chapters: in chapter III, we first focus on the prostitute girls themselves such as how they became what they are and what were the powers that turned them into prostitutes. The topics for the exploration in this chapter are discussed in the previous section, the introduction of this chapter. Then in Chapter IV, we will deal more specifically with the issues of power that the institution itself needed to go through in order to keep their status as an agency of help in the society. Therefore, that chapter will deal with issues such as the power relationship within the staff of GOH itself and with the macro society of Taiwan.

III-2. Literature Survey: Commercial Sexual Transaction and People Trafficking—A Global Scene

Our case study is the Garden of Hope, a privately run non-governmental Christian social welfare institution in Taiwanese society that originated to help prostituted girls. This case study therefore relates to issues of children trafficked for commercial sexual transactions. For this reason, the content of the literature survey in this section is intended to outline the global problems concerning the abuse and trafficking of women and children.

III-2.1. The Definition of “Trafficking”

What actions and behaviour distinguish the crime of ‘people trafficking? The basic criterion is whether the action is against or in accordance with the person’s will. The definition below is according to the definition of 1994 International Conference on Trafficking Persons in the Netherlands,

The traffick in persons is not only for purposes of prostitution, but for a range of other activities as well...It is important to emphasize that the element that defines traffic is force and not the nature of the labour to be performed...The trafficker cannot use as a defence the fact that the person is or was at any time, for example, a prostitute or a domestic worker...¹⁶

However, later in ‘The November 1996 European Commission Communication on Trafficking in Women for the Purpose of Sexual Exploitation’ redefines the problem of trafficking for sexual exploitation to put more emphasis on whether the trafficked ones gave their consents in the first place. Such an emphasis overlooks the fact that many trafficked cases may be induced to give their agreement in the first incidence.

The word of trafficking is most often used to describe kidnapping and enslavement of workers –usually women and girls in the commercial sex industry. But some governments and international agencies have adopted a much broader definition of the term – addressing working

¹⁶ Alison Murray, “Debt-Bondage and Trafficking: Don’t Believe the Hype” in Kamala Kempadoo & Jo Doezema, *Global Sex Workers: Rights, Resistance and Redefinition* (London: Routledge, 1998), pp. 51-64, p. 53.

conditions as well as how a person is recruited. This is because not everyone is abducted or enticed away with false promised of good jobs. Others go willingly, seeing the trafficker's offer as the best option for themselves or their families, but later regret the decision when they find themselves trapped by debt and fear in abusive conditions.¹⁷

III-2.2. Children and Women Trafficking Have Become a Very Profitable Business

Women and children trafficking is extensive in South Asian countries because it has become a very profitable business so many people see it as an acceptable risk.

Prostitution and women trafficking has become a profitable business in Pakistan. Jobless, poverty, ignorance and social implications have compelled millions men and women to adopt this way of business in South Asia.¹⁸

In fact, in the international world, South Africa also has become a renowned transmitting stop for the girls and women trafficking. According to the officer of International Organization for Migration, many illegal immigrants from Malawi, Mozambique, Thailand and China were seduced to come to South Africa to be the miner's wives or to be sold to work at brothels as prostitutes.¹⁹

III-2.3. Some Regions Have More Extreme Problems of Trafficking and Sexual Exploitation than Others Because of Their Socio-Cultural and Economic Circumstances

According to a report from the United Nations, due to the economic, and socio-cultural factors, sexual abuse and exploitation of children and youth are particularly rife in South Asia.

From the findings in the national reports it can be said with certainty that the problem of child abuse and commercial sexual exploitation of

¹⁷ Jalalzai, Musa Khan, *Women Trafficking and Prostitution in Pakistan and Afghanistan* (Lahore: Dua Publication, 2002), pp. 64-65.

¹⁸ Jalalzai, *Women Trafficking and Prostitution in Pakistan and Afghanistan*, p. 7.

¹⁹ News from Yahoo.com, June 23, 2004.

III-2.5. Whether the Business of Prostitution Should be Legalized or Licensed—A Modern Debate

For some cases of abuse by the police officers, some sex workers demand to legalized prostitution: "Every time we are arrested, the police demand sex with us instead of taking us to court. We are tired with being abused and the government should just legalize prostitution."²⁵

Self reported that the caught prostitute seldom plead 'not guilty' in the court because they know it won't do much good for them if they do so.

Lady Nunburnholme maintained that prostitutes pleaded guilty out of convenience, because it was not usually to their advantage to do otherwise. When attending Bow Street Magistrates Court as an observer she found that 23 cases out of 24 had been dealt with in 19 minutes. Sir Lawrence Dunn, who quoted figures that he had extracted with some difficulty from the Home Office. He found that 550 women had appeared on 2250 charges at Bow Street Magistrates court during a three-year period. He was puzzled that 'for some reason the women themselves acquiesce by pleading guilty', but countered this comment by stating that if they did not, they found themselves in a very difficult position. He hoped that any reform of the law that the committee or parliament contemplated would be an improvement on the current position.²⁶

However, there is an opposing point of view on the legalization of prostitution. Davis and Shaffer commented against the legalization:

...those who work illegally outside the area of 'acceptable prostitution', are even more marginalized than before. Because they are viewed as having 'chosen' the route of illegality, they are sometimes subjected to greater harassment and violence by police, clients and pimps.²⁷

²⁵ Spoken by a Zambian sex worker, quoted in *Whose Body It Is*, p. 170.

²⁶ Helen J. Self, *Prostitution, Women and Misuse of the Law* (London: Frank Cass, 2003), p. 105. The time and the society mentioned in this quotation is in the Britain of 1950s.

²⁷ Sylvia Davis and Martha Shaffer, "Protection in Canada: The Invisible Menace or the Menace of Invisibility?" <http://www.walnet.org/csis/papers/sdavis.html>. 1994.

III-2.6. A Role a Non-Government Organization (NGO) Can Play

After her research, Jalalzai suggested the use of the power of non-government organizations to help the once trafficked women and girls to start their new life and also to exchange information with the non-government organizations in other countries so that they can have cooperative powers to tackle the problems of trafficking.

If non-governmental organizations can provide support systems to the women who have been trafficked until they can be make productive and independent citizens again, it might be possible to give relief to the least a section of these women. This is necessary as even women who can go back to their earlier position in society are rather reluctant to do so due to the adverse social consequences that they may face.²⁸

Non-governmental organizations in each country should also compile information about inter-country trafficking and the women's plight and share information with the countries involved in order that necessary publicity can be given in the home countries to prevent more women from being duped.

III-2.7. Media Can Be a Great Help in Tackling the Problems of Women and Children Sexual Exploitation and Trafficking

It is also essential to use media effectively to campaign on this issue. The media has a great role to play to change the archaic attitudes that is still prevalent against women. For example, our society considers marriage the most acceptable and primary aim of women and spinsterhood is seen as a tremendous personal failure which many women find hard to accept.²⁹

As for how to use the power of media we will have a further exploration in our case study of Garden of Hope later in this chapter and the next chapter. We will find that

²⁸ Jalalzai, *Women Trafficking and Prostitution in Pakistan and Afghanistan* (Lahore: Dua Publication, 2002), P. 10.

²⁹ Ibid., p.83.

they have utilised the power of media well, such as by symbols or slogans to attract the attention and concern of the public. This became one of the major factors that contributed to their success in making the government amend the regulations regarding the fair treatment of the girl prostitutes.

III-2.8. Some International Commitments in the Issues of Trafficking and Sexual Abuse of Persons or Prostitution

Issues of children and women abuse and trafficking have had a wide range of global concern. Here we list the commitments in some of the international conferences (see the title below) to let readers know that what the present concerns for the problems of children and women abuse and trafficking and in particular the trafficking for the purpose of commercial sexual transaction.³⁰

- 1949 convention for the Suppression of the Trafficking in Persons and of the Exploitation of the Prostitution of Others
- Protocol to Prevent, suppress and Punish trafficking in Persons especially women and children supplementing the United Nations convention against Transnational organized Crime, 2000.
- Stockholm agenda: Declaration and Agenda for Action from the World congress against the Commercial exploitation of Children, 1996.
- The Yokohama Global Commitment 2001.
- Optional Protocol to the convention on the Right of the Child, the Sale of Children, Child Prostitution and Child Pornography, 2000.
- International Labour Organization: C182 Worst Forms of Child Labour Convention, 1999.

III-2.9. Commercial Sexual Transaction and Men—A Point of View

Michael Kaufman suggests some interesting reasons for why men find the purchase of sex appealing. His opinion is that in cultures where men are discouraged from openly expressing their full range of emotions, prostitution allows for physical intimacy (and even some level of disguised emotional intimacy) without open displays of emotion or emotional attachments. Men who are socialized to inhibit expressions of closeness through touch and other forms of intimacy may as a result

³⁰ From Australian Development Cooperation, *Whose Body It Is: Commercial Sex Work and the Law In Namibia* (Australia: Australian Development Cooperation, 2002), Appendix 1 to 14.

focus on sexual intercourse alone as an outlet for their emotions.³¹

Sheila Jeffrey, from another perspective, argues that commercial, impersonal nature of the transaction is what makes appealing to the customer:

The act of using a woman in prostitution could be seen as the purest form of objectification. An unknown body which is paid for is likely to offer more effective gratification in this regard than a woman who is known and may intrude demands and make comments that might remind her user that she is a real person.³²

III-2.10. Conclusion for Literature Survey

We structured the above literature survey in a way that helps our readers to have a rough pictures for the global problems of human trafficking and the business of prostitution. This serves as a background to our case study of the Garden of Hope, an institution that helps the girl prostitutes. In the above material, we are not trying to resolve the problems mentioned, but to display before the readers what it is like in the global surroundings regarding human trafficking and the problems of prostitution.³³ In what follows we will localize the context to Taiwan to explore the business of prostitution, in particular girl prostitutions, and how a Christian pastoral care provider, the institution of Garden of Hope, combats the problems of girl prostitution in Taiwan, how they provide the pastoral caring activities for the prostituted girls through dealing with the powers that trapped the prostituted girls in their power relationships.

³¹ Michael Kaufman, *Cracking the Armor: Power, Pain and the Lives of Men* (Toronto: Viking, 1993) pp. 97-158.

³² Shiela Jeffreys, *The Idea of Prostitution* (Australia: Spinifex Press, 1997), p. 219.

³³ We use the term "human trafficking" instead of "girl and women trafficking" because the scope for the trafficking is much wider than girls and women. For instance, young boys were also the targeted trafficked persons, even though not as many as women and girls, for cheap labors or reasons of commercial sexual transactions.

III-3. What it Was Like regarding the Girl Prostitutes in Taiwan

In this section we are going to explore issues regarding girl prostitutes in Taiwan in terms of the enterprise of commercial sexual transaction itself (III-2.1), the law of Taiwan regarding girl prostitution (III-2.2), and how the girl prostitutes become what they are (III-2.3). After we have explored “issues regarding girl prostitutes in Taiwan”, we will give an analytical assessment of the caring activities that Garden of Hope have provided for these girls (III-2.4.), from the perspectives of major themes of power that we have explored in chapter II:

- (1) governmentality, how governmental authority has power over the individuals’ life (II-2),
- (2) ideologies, how the beliefs from traditions of society will influence the individual’s concepts of how they should live in society (II-3),
- (3) subjectivities, how the individual needs to assert their own individuality in their decision making as a autonomous person and not to be controlled by others (II-4),
- (4) conflict, deviant, punishment and discipline, how the individuals that confront the social norm in society are treated as a deviant, how they are punishment or disciplined to keep the order of society, and how in any power relationship, even though there is disciplinary method for the deviant, there is always a power of resistance to challenge an abused power relationship, both in collective realm and individual relationship (II-5), and
- (5) how women’s status in the society is in the marginalized categories and so they are often be used as objects, in other words they are often objectified (II-6).

Therefore, in the following discourse, we will organize the materials we gathered from our field research and assess them according to the above themes of power.

III-3.1. The Girl Prostitutes were Caught by the Power of the Entire Enterprise of Commercial Sexual Transaction

III-3.1.1. The definition of the “girl prostitute”

In Taiwan there are two definitions of girl prostitutes:

- (1) From the regulation of the criminal law, a girl prostitute is defined as a girl who is under age of 16 and doing commercial sexual transactions,³⁴ or
- (2) From the regulation of Juvenile Welfare, a girl prostitute is defined as a girl who is under age of 18 and doing commercial sexual transactions.³⁵

From the perspective of the protection of the young girls, it is better to enlarge the scope of the age in the definition, so we adopt the scope of Juvenile Welfare Law in this thesis, the girl prostitute means girls under 18 who are doing commercial sexual transactions.³⁶

III-3.1.2. The enterprise of commercial sexual transaction in Taiwan

After we have made it clear the age range for the definition of being 'a girl prostitute', next, we want to provide a survey for the enterprise of commercial sexual transaction in the context of Taiwan to let the reader understand how the entire enterprise has become a vast power that entice a girl to become a prostitute.

Nan Chou Su, one of the trustees of GOH, the coordinator of the Movement against using Girl Prostitutes, gives an overview of the "business" of the prostitution in Taiwan as the following:

- The places where the prostitutes can be found are not only brothels but also motels, bars, KTV, coffee shops, Dancing Places, barbershops, etc.
- The rough estimate of the total number of girl prostitutes in Taiwan is 60,000 according to the report of GOH to Taiwan government.³⁷ This number is the "direct workers in the first line".

³⁴ Crime Law in Taiwan, article 124, item (1). Chhin Fong Wang, "To Examine The Problems of the Girl Prostitution from the Perspective of The Law", Hsui Yia Chin, (ed.), *雛妓防治問題面面觀 (Facets of the Prevention and Treatment of the Girl Prostitutes in Taiwan)* (GOH: Taiwan, 1993), pp. 22-33, p.22. This book and along other books published by the GOH are written in Chinese only, with the only exception of *Give Her a Piece of Land to Grow*. All the cited quotations from these Chinese books are translated by the author of this thesis from Chinese into English. Below we will only cite translated English titles of these books.

³⁵ Juvenile Welfare Law, article 3. Chhin Fong Wang, "To Examine The Problems of the Girl Prostitution from the Perspective of The Law", Hsui Yia Chin, (ed.), *Facets of the Prevention and Treatment of the Girl Prostitutes in Taiwan* (GOH: Taiwan, 1993), pp. 22-23, p. 22.

³⁶ The Juvenile law was established later than the crime law.

³⁷ A Report of GOH to the Li Fa Yung at the hearing of the Treatment and Prevention of the Girl Prostitutes, June, 1992. Also see, Liang Wang, "How Big the Girl Prostitutes' Problem is? An Estimation" in GOH, (ed.), *Facets of the Prevention and Treatment of the Girl Prostitutes in Taiwan* (GOH: Taiwan, 1993), pp. 131-180, p.155.

- The number of “users”: From the sharing of the girl prostitutes, everyday they (the girl prostitutes of being sold) need to receive customers 30-40 and the voluntary or semi-voluntary ones 5-15 customers.³⁸
- Among 60, 000 girl prostitutes, the ratio between the types of being sold and semi-voluntary is about 1:5. This equates to around 800,000 customers in Taiwan each day.
- The expense for every knot/session of using the girl prostitutes is 500 NT (about 8 sterling pounds). Then gross income of the industry/business per day will be more than billion NT (1 sterling pound=60 NTD).
- The structure of this business includes
 - (1) the sellers such as girl prostitutes, the owners of the brothel, the body guards,
 - (2) the mediators such as runners of motel, bar, dancing places, coffee shop, the advertisements company, and
 - (3) the user: the customers

Su's opinion is that the whole business involves a very wide range of related businesses in Taiwan. In terms of the gross income of the industry, if we add the other related expenses such as transportation, food, rooms in the prostitution industry, this industry is one of the largest businesses in Taiwan.³⁹ Therefore, in dealing with the problems of the girl prostitutes, we need to keep in mind that there are so many businesses that have a vested interest in the business of prostitution. Also, security is also a major concern, because the gang runs some of these businesses.⁴⁰

Within the general prostitution industry there is a particular demand for young girls. There is an ideology prevalent in the culture of Taiwan that views the girls as objects and as such if men have sexual relationship with young girls, their “male capacity” can become strong. Due to demand for girls as sexual objects a further underground

³⁸ For the types of being sold or semi-voluntarily doing the business, please reference next section, “How they became what they are”. The number of the customer of the semi-voluntary type, Su somehow still gave a lower estimate. From one of the girl's sharing, they also have times of receiving 20 to 30 customers per day. Nan Chou Su, “The Socio-economic Analyses of the Problem of the Girl Prostitutes in Taiwan and the Strategy of the Movement against Using the Girl Prostitutes” in Hsui Yia Chin, (ed.), *Facets of the Prevention and Treatment of the Girl Prostitutes in Taiwan*, pp. 9-12.

³⁹ Nan Chou Su, “The Socio-economic Analyses of the Problem of the Girl Prostitutes in Taiwan and the Strategy of the Movement against Using the Girl Prostitutes”, p. 10; also reference the discussion in Hsui Lin She, “Are There One Hundred Thousand Girl Prostitutes?” in Hsui Yia Chin, (ed.), *Facets of the Prevention and Treatment of the Girl Prostitutes in Taiwan*, p. 111 (only one page). She is a legal consultant for the law of the Garden of Hope.

⁴⁰ Su, “The Socio-economic Analyses of the Problem of the Girl Prostitutes in Taiwan and the Strategy of the Movement against Using the Girl Prostitutes”, p. 11. Also see next section, “Girls' Story”.

industry has grown to fill this demand. Therefore the “market of the girl prostitutes”, is large.⁴¹ Although there is an undoubted demand for young girls how are they enticed into such an industry and what kind of life they have as a girl prostitutes? Next we will explore specifically the issues regarding girl prostitutes.

⁴¹ Chhi, “Analyzing the Problem of the Girl Prostitutes in Taiwan from Sociology”, in GOH, (ed.), *Treatment and Prevention of the Girl Prostitutes*, pp.51-57, p. 52. Chhi is a sociologist in Taiwan and he is a consultant of GOH.

III-3.2. The Girl Prostitutes in Taiwan were Caught by the Power of Taiwan's Girl Prostitution Laws⁴²

In a girl prostitute's life there are many abused powers that can cause them to become a girl prostitute and we are going to explore them in the following. One of these is the power of the country's governmental authority, for these are victims of the abuse of the very government law that is supposed to protect them. As we have explored in II-2, governmentality is the powers of the governmental authority that are granted by the public to do things for the common good and protect those who cannot defend for themselves. However, in the case of the girl prostitutes, the Taiwanese government laws before 1989 is a dead end for them, dead end in the sense that the judicial law does not protect them but instead causes them to be trapped in the life of being a prostitute. How could this be? How can it be that a protective juridical regulation for its people has turned out to be a trap for the girl prostitutes? In this section we are going to have a close look at this issue.

III-3.2.1. Law regarding prostitution

According to Wang Huei Wang's explanation in interview, before 1989, in Taiwan, the relevant law regarding the prostitution was that any prostitute caught by the police whilst doing "the business" without a license would be dealt with them in three possible ways:

- (1) To be jailed for less than seven days or fined (Article 64, the Police Offence Ordinance).⁴³
- (2) If any prostitute was caught twice in the same district, then she would be sent to either the Kong Chh Vocational Training and Counselling Centre for Distressed Women⁴⁴ or the Yunlin Technical Training Centre for Girls⁴⁵ for

⁴² Regarding the whole set of the discussion of the regulation changes and how GOH cooperated with the other organization made their effort for three years from 1993 to 1995 to move the Taiwanese government finally establish the whole set of regulations for the prevention and treatment of the girl prostitutes, please see, Yia Chin & Chan, Yi Sh, (eds.), *台灣NGO 立法行動 (The Taiwan NGO's Actions for the Legislation)* (Taipei, Taiwan: GOH, 2002).

⁴³ In the following footnotes the Chinese equivalent terms of the regulations are given. 違警罰法 第7條

⁴⁴ 廣慈博愛院婦女職業輔導所

⁴⁵ 雲林女子習藝中心

six months (Article 28, the Police Offence Ordinance).⁴⁶

- (3) If the prostitute was aged between 12 and 18, she could be sent to the Juvenile Court for a hearing according to Juvenile Law (Section 2, Article 3, the Law Governing the Disposition of Juvenile Cases).⁴⁷

III-3.2.2. Juvenile Welfare Law and Children Welfare Law

The supervisor of social workers of GOH explained⁴⁸ that in Taiwan, the clients of the Children Welfare Law (CWL) are children who are under 12 years old and Juvenile Welfare Law (JWL) deals with youth who are between 12 and 18 years old. For these girls who are under 18 years of old, there are also two different sentences depending on whether the girls are doing the business voluntarily or under duress.

III-3.2.3. For the girls who are forced to be a prostitute

The supervisor of social workers of GOH further explained that

- (1) If the victim is under 12 years of old, the court can judge according to Children Welfare Law 19 and 21, but both of the regulations only work when the victim proposes their case to the court. The court cannot take initiative to open the case.
- (2) If the girl is between 12 and 18, the prosecutor can invoke regulations 9, 22, 23 to send these girls to be sheltered and protected. But even so, these regulations do not have clear description where these girls should be sent, for how long and where the budget can come from.⁴⁹

III-3.2.4. For the girls who are prostitutes voluntarily

- (1) The Juvenile court can invoke Juvenile Welfare Law article 22 to send them to be disciplined by their parents or guardians to give admonition,

⁴⁶ 違警罰法 第 28 條.

⁴⁷ 少年事件處理法第三條第二款

⁴⁸ The supervisor of social workers of GOH, Wen Fang, in interview.

⁴⁹ She also referred to a relevant article by Cher Chhung Li for exact juridical terms. Cher Chhung Li, "From Juridical System to Examine the Treatment of the Girl Prostitutes" in GOH (ed.), *Facets of the Prevention and Treatment of the Girl Prostitutes in Taiwan* (GOH: Taiwan, 1993), pp. 66-67.

Supervision on holidays⁵⁰ or education for a change.

- (2) But if after investigation the court finds it is not suitable for the girl to be sent back to their parents, the court can sentence the girl to be sheltered and protected by the governmental authority or its entrusted institutions.
- (3) However, according to Children and Juvenile Welfare Laws, if the guardians or parents of children (under 12 years old) or youth (between 12 and 18 years old) have been involved in trafficking or forcing the children or youth who are under their guard, the governmental authority is obligated to make sure that these children or youth are sheltered, investigated and protected by the government or governmental entrusted social welfare institutions (CWL 21, JWL 9 II, 22 III).⁵¹

Rev. San⁵² also mentioned the situation of that period time in terms of the treatment of the girl prostitutes. In , after the girls were sent to the Juvenile Court, the Court will have four possible sentences for the girl prostitutes:

- (1) Admonition
- (2) Supervision on holidays
- (3) To protect and discipline under a suitable welfare institution⁵³ and
- (4) Education for a Change⁵⁴

According Rev. San, this legislation had the effect that the volunteer girls were freed to resume life sooner than those who were forced into prostitution. Those who were sold should be treated as the victims and therefore protected by the power of Taiwanese governmental authority, because they have been sold and forced to do the work. However, Taiwanese governmentality had not so developed at that period of

⁵⁰ The exact term of the regulation in Chinese is 保護管束

⁵¹ Chhin Fong Wang, "To Examine the Problems of The Girl Prostitution from the Perspective of the Law", in Yia Chin & Chan, Yi Sh, (eds.), *Facets of the Prevention and Treatment of the Girl Prostitutes in Taiwan* (GOH: Taiwan, 1993), p. 24. The author was the chairperson of the Foundation of Rescuing Women of Taipei and member of Supervision Yung of Taiwan Government.

⁵² Rev. Chern Chong San in interview. He is the first chairperson of the board of trustee of GOH.

⁵³ The official term in the regulation in Chinese is 保護管束, Cher Chhun Li, "From Juridical System to Examine the Treatment of the Girl Prostitutes", p. 66-67.

⁵⁴ In Chinese is 感化教育, it is based on The Juvenile Law 42. These four possibilities are for voluntary girl prostitutes.

time in that it does not have good rehabilitation centre for these rescued girls to stay. Rather, the girls who stay to be protected are more like prisoners as they are confined there.⁵⁵ Regarding the problem of the state run rehabilitation centre and what may be a better way to deal with the girls prostitutes we will have a further exploration in the analytical assessment section at the end of this chapter.

III-3.2.5. The law regarding harassing, raping and trafficking people

One social worker explained to me that to force a person to be a prostitute, to do commercial sexual transaction is against the laws that relate to harassing, raping and trafficking people.⁵⁶ According to her explanation, we draw a chart here so that it is easy for us to have a comparative view for the differences of the sentences by the judicial system of Taiwan.

The law regarding harassing, raping and trafficking people who are under 18

Age	Type of crime	Sentences	The law/Regulation based
Under 14	raping	More than 5 years in jail (at least five years in Jail)	Crime Law 221 II
	harassing	Less than 7 years in jail (no more than 7 years of punishment)	Crime Law 224 II
14-16	raping	Less than 7 years in jail	Crime Law 227 I
	harassing	Less than 5 years	227 II
Under 18	trafficking	3 to 7 years in jail	241 II and III

Even though the above sentences are severe, but there is still problem in such a sentence. Dean of the department of the social work of GOH explained to me:

The problem is that these ‘crime acts’ are charged only when the

⁵⁵ Rev. Chern Chong San in interview.
⁵⁶ One of the social worker of GOH, in interview.

victims litigate the crime committer. It means that only when the victims present their cases to the court can the court open the case. But often what happens is when these girls are caught, they confess they are guilty (voluntarily do the job). The effect of such a confession is that the court cannot open the case to charge people who trapped the girls. So the parents or the pimps who force the girls to be prostitutes can get away from been punished.⁵⁷

But why do the girl prostitutes behave in this way? Why did they not testify to make the people who traffick them such as pimps be put into jails? The original purpose of the regulation was to protect the girl victims' fame/reputation, not to let their hurt be exposed in public. But this became a loophole in the law in dealing with the problems of the girl prostitutes. We will also discuss how this loophole in the law can be remedied in the analytical assessment section of what Garden of Hope have done to challenge such a misuse of the power of the governmental law.

The above was the situation in Taiwan before 1989 in terms of the treatment of the girl prostitutes. Cher Chhung Li criticized such a situation as "No Law, No human Resource, No Money, and Indifference."⁵⁸ Such a situation needed to be changed and Mrs. Wang believed that the zeal of the Lord Almighty would deliver that change (ref. III-1.1.).⁵⁹

Nevertheless, other than the law problems that did not deal with the girl prostitutes properly, there are reasons why it is hard for the girls to step out of the "business" once they are in it. Next we will examine another kind of power, the power of parents or guardians, which often has pushed some girls into the life of a prostitute.

⁵⁷ Executive of the department of the social work of GOH in interview.

⁵⁸ Cher Chhung Li, "From Juridical System to Examine the Treatment of the Girl Prostitutes", p. 67.

⁵⁹ Wang-Huei Liang Wang. I got permission in interview to have a full quotation from the article she wrote, "The Zeal of the Lord Almighty Will Accomplish This" in Wang-Huei, Liang Wang, (ed.), *Give her a Piece of Land to Grow*, (Taipei, Taiwan: End Child Prostitution Association Taiwan, 1996), pp. 65-69.

III-3.3. The Girl Prostitutes were Caught by the Abused Parental Guardian Power

Wang Huei Liang Wang mentioned in interview that she did research on the reasons why the girls became prostitutes and gave a list of reasons for how they girls become prostitutes. The percentage for each reason is listed in the chart below.

Ways of First Entering Sex-related Trades⁶⁰

	No. of persons	%
Introduced by friends	33	30.3
Introduced by relatives	2	1.8
Hooked by newspaper advertisement	22	20.2
Self application	21	19.3
Been cheated	7	6.4
By female friend	2	
By male friend	4	
By job brokers	1	
Been sold	23	21.1
By parents	2	
By father	4	
By mother	12	
By adopted mother	2	
By relatives	1	
By step-father	2	
Unknown	1	0.9
Total	109	100%

From the above statistic we can see that among the interviewed girl prostitutes, the percentage of being sold is 21.1% and most are sold by their parents or step parents. It is a sad and yet true fact, from the statistics, that many of them were in fact pushed by their parents to be a girl prostitute. However there might be various reasons behind the actions of their parents. When we consider abused parental power we

⁶⁰ Wang Huei Liang Wang, p. 255.

often assume that it is only the father who misuses this power. In section II-6 we have discussed that when women were objectified as objects to be gifts in a marriage, we thought it was father who did it. But from the statistic list we have provided here, we find that it is not only fathers but mothers also who sell their daughters for their own needs.

On the other hand, the abused parental power can be detected in cases where there were sexual abuses by their fathers and where those hurts eventually became one of the reasons for deciding to become a girl prostitute. One of the counsellors of GOH recommended me to the story of the girl that was in their archive record:

When I was a little girl, my father often had sexual behaviour with me. When I was having bath with my younger brother, he will let my brother done first and ask him to go outside to buy something. After my brother went out, my father will touch the bottom part of my body.... Even when we have afternoon naps, he will put his leg on my body....I did not know what it is about, so one time I ask one of my school mates whether her father also did such a thing to her...One day I had a quarrel and split with that class mate, then she spoke out what my father did to me in the public. Since then, wherever I went, I became the target of my schoolmate to abuse both orally and physically...I finally run away from my home and to live with an 'elder sister' who was doing commercial sexual transaction. She is really nice to me...one day she asked me whether I wanted to do the business as well...⁶¹

That counsellor said to me that

It was very sad that many of our cases are like this, first they were abused by their family members; then they ran away from home and eventually ended at doing commercial sexual

⁶¹ This girl a few years later ran away from her home and end up to do the commercial sexual transaction for her own living. This story is recorded in Yu Fang Liang, "The Story of Xiao Jong" in Yia Chin Hsui, (ed.), *記得月亮活下來 (Remember the Moon has Survived)* (Taipei, Taiwan: GOH, 1998), pp. 22-35, p. 23. We take (and translate) some of the girl's stories from the GOH's records because many of their previous cases have left halfway home of GOH and there is no way of tracing them. They do on purpose not take initiative to keep in touch with these girls, because these girls may not like to reveal their past history in their new life with their husbands.

transaction for the money to live by.⁶²

III-3.4. They were Caught by the Power of Traditional Ideologies

In section II-3 we discussed how in Taiwan some ideologies that have been passed down from generations put girls at a disadvantage. In one of my interviews, I was provided a story of a girl who became a girl prostitute due to her parents' use of a traditional ideology as a guide to their decision to sell her. That ideology is that if the vein line of the palm of a girl is read as "Cutting palm", then the girl may be thought as "a source of bad fate to her parents or husband". Not all Taiwanese believe such a thing, but still there are some parents believe such dogma. In interview one of the social workers told me the following story:

The girl's family members were very superstitious. After a fortune teller read her palm and her parents were told that this girl would cause the death of her father and her future husband, she was therefore forced by her parents to leave home. After a long journey of struggle and suffering due to financial insecurity, she was hooked by a job advertised in the newspaper and then sold to Japan for prostitution. Not until she contracted a disease she did get a chance to run away from the brothel. Through the help of a church, she came back to Taiwan.⁶³

The other ideologies in the culture of Taiwan that view the girls as objects is such as if men have sexual relationship with young girls, their "male capacity" can become strong. In the section II-3 how ideologies of a society can control the behaviours of the people who live within that society was explored using a real example from the life context of Taiwan. Many men believe the connotation of this ideology and therefore the 'market of the girl prostitutes' is large.⁶⁴ If we want to decrease the trafficking of the girls to be prostitutes, the power of ideologies needs to be challenged. For such is the power of the prevailing ideologies, what can the Garden of Hope, as a pastoral care provider, do to oppose it in order to help the girls hurt by it? We will also examine the answer for this question in the analytical section.

⁶² One of the counsellors in interview.

⁶³ Told by a social worker of GOH in the interview.

⁶⁴ Chhi, "Analyzing the Problem of the Girl Prostitutes in Taiwan from Sociology", in GOH, (ed.), *Treatment and Prevention of the Girl Prostitutes*, pp.51-57, p. 52.

III-3.5. They were Caught by the Power of the Double Tragedies

In the section of the definition of power, we have explored how the means of exercising power can be varied such as position, tones of speaking and attitude (II-1). Therefore, past wounds can also be a power that confines the girls and cause them to either suppress their sexuality or mask their hurt by overreacting to sexual interaction, as Wen Huei commented in interview:

...for some girls when they were abused in their childhood, they might pent up the hurt which can result in suppressed sexuality, or over reacting in responding to sexual interaction, to have sexual relationship very easily or even becoming a prostitutes.⁶⁵

The Dean of the Social Welfare Department of Domestic Affair in Taiwan, Hsiu-Hsiung Bai stated from his professional experiences that these girl prostitutes might have been raped by their close relatives, many of them came from dysfunctional family, parents divorced, raised by grandparents etc. Then, for some reason they run away from their own home and after for a while, they need to do the commercial sexual transaction to make their living.⁶⁶ In fact four out of the eight cases I interviewed said to me that they ran away from home and later when they had no money, their friends introduced them to do the sexual transaction.⁶⁷

According to Wen Huei Hung in interview, some girls who were hurt in their past by various reasons may “contextualize their wounds into a commercial sexual behaviour” as a kind of outlet for their hurt in their emotion or inner being, a sign of protest, and even a silent crying out for their feelings of despair.⁶⁸ Hung referred to what she wrote in her article:

From many reports, prostitutions are also found to have experienced child abuse, parental neglect, emotional and sexual abuse, and/or poor

⁶⁵ Interviewed from Wen Huei Hung; she mentioned that similar connotation is in her article, Wen Huei Hung, “The influence of Sexual Abuse and Violence against Girls of the Victims” in Chan, Min Chin and Chuang, Su Fang, (eds.), *美麗馨世界 (The Beautiful World of Garden of Hope)*, (Taipei: GOH, 1992), pp. 104-26, p. 115.

⁶⁶ Hsiu-Hsiung Bai, “To View the Treatment of the Girl Prostitutes from the Perspective of Social Welfare”, in *Garden of Hope*, (ed.), *雛妓防治問題面面觀 (Facets of the Prevention and Treatment of the Girl Prostitutes in Taiwan)* (GOH: Taiwan, 1993), pp. 71-79. p. 72..

⁶⁷ Girls interviewed.

⁶⁸ Interviewed from Wen Huei Hung.

relationships with their parents. Childhood experience, especially early sexual experience and damage, can cause some women to choose this vocation. For women with these experiences chronically hide and suppress their inner anger, shame, and anxiety. A feeling of retribution was thus built up. By choosing to be prostitutes, they can decide to take on customers from their free will, instead of being forced or helplessly raped. On the other hand, it is also possible that they have given up on themselves, feeling that they have no hope for the future... There is also a high risk for women who work in lower positions in customer service.⁶⁹

The power of past wounds has therefore exerted their effects upon many aspects of their life. Even after the girl prostitutes are no longer prostitutes, those powers still function strongly in the journey of the girl prostitutes. The Garden of Hope in their caring for these girls has experienced these hindering powers in their caring activities for the rescued girl prostitutes, too. For this we will give a further examination in next chapter, “A Long Journey toward Recovery—Life in the midway Home”.

III-3.6. They were Caught by the Power of their Subjective Perception

We have discussed the topic of the individual subjectivity and its relationship to the exercise of power in section II-4. Subjectivity relates to the individual's awareness of the self, their thoughts, their perceptions and the ability to make autonomous decisions. We mention that the individual's subjectivity is not inborn but are formed in the processes of socialization such as education in family and school. It is shaped by the ideologies that form the norms in the society. From the context of Taiwan, we give the examples of how Taiwanese young people tried to assert their independence through various actions such as speeding motorcycles through crowded streets and co-habitation before marriage.

In the cases of the girl prostitutes, some of them do the commercial sexual transaction out of their subjective decision, even though they are aware that they may be deemed as a deviant (ref. II-5) in the society because of such conduct. There may be various reasons for their doing so; but one major reason is that many social norms and ideologies of Taiwan that people used to take as “right and good” have been broken down due to many changes in political scenery as we have explored in the

⁶⁹ Hung in interview.

pastoral caring activities of the Presbyterian Churches in Taiwan in section I-2 and I-3. One saying that relates to prostitution and money making can express one of such changes in the moral norms of the society in Taiwan is “people may despise people who are poor but not who are prostitutes.” The old moral standards for what is “bad and wrong” are no longer the cornerstones of the society of Taiwan.

Furthermore, as we have pointed out in the assessment for the issues of subjectivity, (II-4), young people in Taiwan, in their attempt to assert their subjective thinking, tend to think, “As long as I like, why not?” Such an ideology (ref. II-3) also contributes to giving the girls the courage to choose to be a prostitute to make their living, if they run out of their home and the school and have no money to live by. Wen-Huei Hung brought our attention to the fact that not all the girls who work at brothels were sold by their relatives. There were many who do the work out of their own volition. These girls do not necessarily come from poor families, but many are from middle class families.

Most of us, when thinking about prostitutes, will think of the girls sold to brothels in Hwa-Sih Street.⁷⁰ But, child prostitutes who were sold are only the minority. There are many girls who voluntarily work as prostitutes in other corners of Taipei. These girls do not necessarily come from poor families; many are from middle-class families. What factors cause them to make such a choice?⁷¹

Wen-Huei has used a term, “self perception” to explain the girls’ motive to do the commercial sexual business in that it is out of their own subjective choice. To some who lack money or have limited skills to make a living, prostitution seems to be a quick way to raise one’s living conditions, for it does not require a routine and monotonous working schedule and yet can provide a good income to satisfy one’s desire for “adventurous, stimulating, and lavish life-style”.⁷²

Wen-Huei’s suspicion that not all the girl prostitutes are forced into the sexual business can be proved from the chart on section III-3.3. It shows that the percentage of being cheated is 6.4 % and the percentage of actually sold by parents or the relatives is 21.1 %. Therefore, there is a high percentage of girl prostitutes who get

⁷⁰ A place in Taipei, Taiwan, which has many brothels.

⁷¹ Interview with Hung.

⁷² Interview with Hung.

into the field either voluntarily or semi-voluntarily. In fact among 8 girls I interviewed four of them are in this category. One of the girls I interviewed told me that,

“I cannot get along with my ‘uncle’, so I run away from home. And when I need money, I took my friend’s suggestion to do ‘that’. It is not so difficult to do it. Any way it is for money, as long as you do not think too much, it is not too difficult. First time I can get more money, about 10,000 NT. The second time then the pay was decreased, about few thousands NT...But I did not do too many times before I was caught by the police.”⁷³

In conclusion, we have traced the powers that have trapped the girls into becoming prostitutes. One of the characteristics of power is “relational” as we have addressed in the conclusion of the chapter on theories of power (chapter II). These girls were caught by various powers due to relationships they had in their lives so that they became prostitutes. In the collective realm, rather than being protected by the law of their government in Taiwan, they were caught by the blind point of the regulations of the governmentality of Taiwan. In the individual relationship, rather than being cared for by their parents, many of them were in fact sold by their parents to the brothel to make their living. And in the society, the girl prostitutes were influenced by the prevailing ideologies among their peers to make their subjective decision to make their living by being a prostitute.

Next we will give two illustrations for the girls’ stories from which we can understand how the above described powers trapped the girls. The two stories may not be able to cover all the above expounded causes of power that make the girls become a prostitute; nevertheless, the two illustrations can serve to let us know what it is like for what we have explored so far in this chapter for the powers that trapped the girl prostitutes.

III-3.7. Two Cases of the Girl Prostitutes.

Below we set out two cases of the girl prostitutes: one is a girl prostitute’s story that

⁷³ The uncle’s identity here is ambiguous. Whether this is her mother’s real brother or her mother wanted the girl to call the man uncle, I did not press on to ask. 10000 NT is about 160 pounds (NT is divided by 60 into pounds).

can be as an illustration for what we have examined so far regarding the girl prostitutes.⁷⁴ The other is a poem written by a girl prostitute to describe how she feels after being sold by her father and having lived as a girl prostitute. The two cases may not be able to cover all the possible situations of the girl prostitutes, but from their stories we can have a general understanding for how a girl can possibly be trapped into the business of a brothel and what it is like to live in a brothel and how difficult it is to get out of it.

III-3.7.1. A story of a girl prostitute

In order to let our readers to get a sketch of the girl's description, we put her statement in an outline style:

- **Poor family situation:** "I think it was poverty and ignorance that made me enter into this career. Not long after my birth, my mother died of pulmonary tuberculosis. My family was very poor we live in a thatched cottage in the mountain place. My brother often needs to go with my father to take care of the dead body in car accidents, a job that not many people dare to do. I needed to learn how to cook even when I was very young..."
- **Someone we are familiar with trapping me:** "One day my cousin-in-law, a small group leader of the political party in our village, asked me whether I wanted to go with him to downtown to have some fun. I was happy to go with him to the downtown. But once we arrived there, a black limousine already was waiting for us. They pushed me into the car and drive me to Kaohsiung. By then I was only 14 years old."
- **Being threatened not to let family members know:** "My father and brother tried very hard to find me. My cousin-in-law lied by telling them that I was learning how to be a dressmaker. My father wanted my cousin-in-law to take him to Kaohsiung so that he could be sure that I was safe. But before my father could do it, a body guard threatened me by putting a knife on my neck to call my father and tell him that I was very safe but could not meet him because I had something else to do that day. When I was telling it to my

⁷⁴ GOH, (ed.), *Facets of the Prevention and Treatment of the Girl Prostitutes in Taiwan* (GOH: Taiwan, 1993), pp. 114 -115. From the girl's description we know that there seem many local and mountain officers connected with the trafficking of the girls.

father, I could not hold back the tears.”

- **A confined life and physically abused:** “I and the other girls were tightly guarded; we did the business at a small room located at the back part of a drink shop. Everyday I needed to take 40 customers. When there was time in between taking customers we could only sit numbly on the bed, with absolutely no contact with the outside world. One time I got pregnant but was forced to have an abortion. After that my boss told me that I could never get pregnant again. When I heard that I cried very hard, because I thought that God even deprived my chance of being an ordinary person again and being a mother.”
- **Difficult to escape:** “One time a young sergeant heard my story and tried to help. He paid a high price to the pimp (my boss) so that I could spend a night with him outside of the brothel. We went to a motel and he had bought a bus ticket for me. I was very excited that I could run away. However I was pulled out of the bus at the last minute by a body guard of the brothel. Later I found out the reason. I totally forgot how distinctive my outfit was. In my career our dress was in very ‘exposing’ style and the colour was very eye catching. So one woman at the bus station noticed me and reported me to the brothel where I worked. The pimp even set the ‘watchdog’ at the bus station.”
- **Being violently treated but finally found by the police:** “I was beaten very badly, whipped, kicked at my belly, because I tried to run away. Not until another year later, I was caught while I was doing the business and then the police sent me to the woman rehabilitation centre. It was not until then that my brother and my father knew what I was doing since I had left them. They were very sad and cried, but I did not really know how to comfort them.”
- **Finally getting out of the pimp’s hand:** “After half a year was over I needed to leave the learning centre. My brother came to pick up me. But the body guard from the brothel also took his knife to wait at the outskirt to strike us. Fortunately my brother’s friend’s car helped to give us a ride to another big city, Taichong, in the middle west of Taiwan, where they could not find me so easily.”
- **Hard to have a happy marriage:** “My later part of story you already know,

I got married twice but in both marriages, I was 'thrown out' of my husbands' family, once my husband found what I was doing in the past. Now I am very glad I married a mountain man who has much understanding and sympathy for what we mountain girl's sad past experience. And he loves me."

(Hsiu- Laing Mo, Pai Wan Tribe,
started being a prostitute when she was 15.)

III-3.7.2. A poem written by a girl prostitute

The girl prostitutes are hurt in many perspectives as we have described above, one of the girl prostitutes wrote the following poem to express her reflection on her life as girl prostitute. It expresses the complexity of her life encounters and the emotion disturbance caused by those encounters.

Tracks of Tears

by Jenny

Many tears, many loves, many sorrows,
Accompany me with footsteps of each passing day.
Past dreams, love, hatred,
All that was in the past already shaped a different me.
Perhaps! Those who have gone through heavy storms.
All have a hope, a dream.
All these have gone with the wind!
Past dreams become some surprising reminiscences in exchange!
You and I have our moments of crying beneath blankets,
What a feeling of loss that is.
Memories have come back to me,
It disturbed me; it also moved those rainy tears!
I do not know who to let it disappear,
I can only remember all the details one more time.
Even though I hated him once,
It is still so hard to leave him alone!
I really do not know how to tell the difference between hate and
love!
Perhaps time will wash everything away.
I can only wait!

But tracks of tears will leave signs.⁷⁵

From the contents of the above story and the poem we can understand why the girl prostitutes fall into the categories of the marginalized of the marginalized. For example, the author of the above poem was betrayed and sold like products by her beloved family members, whom she was supposed to love. But now they felt hatred toward them. The mixture of the feeling caused more complicated feelings that she needed to deal with in her life later on. What we list above are only two of the cases and we believe in reality, there will be many more girl prostitutes' stories like these two marginalized girls.

We have explored how these girls were mistreated according to the law of Taiwan, how they become a prostitute and how they were possibly hurt living a life as a girl prostitute. Then next question we need to examine are "What need to be done" and "what has been done by the pastoral care giver, Garden of Hope?" We will assess what GOH have done with respect to those power problems in the girl prostitutes' life in the next section.

⁷⁵ Jenny, "Tracks of Tears" in Wang-Huei Liang Wang, (ed.), *Give Her a Piece of Land to Grow* (English version) (Taipei, Taiwan: End Child Prostitution Association Taiwan, 1996), p. 147. The poem was written in July 1990, when the author was sixteen years old. She was sold by her father to a brothel.

III-4. Analytical Assessment from Theories of Power for the Caring Activities of Garden of Hope

In order to expound our case study from the issues of power, we have examined how these themes of power appear in the life of the girl prostitutes in Taiwan and in what form. Now, in the last section of this chapter, we want to expound how the Garden of Hope provided their caring activities to deal with these forms of powers in the girl prostitutes' life and how it has become a kind of power struggles in their caring for the girl prostitutes.

In chapter two we have expounded some major themes in the sociological discussion of power theories for our theological reflection. Now we are going to see how these themes can also be found in GOH's pastoral caring activities of the girl prostitutes. In other words, as Foucault has mentioned, to every form of power, there is resistance. Our assessment is that the GOH's pastoral caring activities for the girl prostitutes can be described as "Help of Taking Actual Actions: a resistance to the powers that trapped people for whom they care". What does this statement mean? We will give it a close examination in this section.

III-4.1. To Become a Resistance to the Inefficiency and Ignorance of the Execution of the Governmental Authority in terms of the Treatment and Prevention of the Girl Prostitutes.

In section III-3.2 we have examined the problem of the regulation in children welfare law and Juvenile Welfare Law regarding the treatment of the girl prostitutes. The problems were that the sentence of the people who trafficked the girl can only be charged based on crime law. But the court can only open cases for the "criminal acts" of the raping or harassing when the victims present their cases to the court according to crime law. If the caught girl prostitutes confessed they were guilty of voluntarily doing commercial sexual transactions, then the court could not sentence the people who trafficked them.

We may think that the girl prostitutes who were forced to do commercial sexual transactions should be able to confess that they were forced to do so. Nevertheless, what actually happens in the court was that those girl prostitutes often confessed they were guilty. Liang Wang told me the reasons why these girls acted in this way,

They did so for the following reasons: in order to (1) let their parents get away, (2) because they were taught to answer the question in this way and they were not aware of what the effects would be for such a confession, or (3) They did not want to be confined in the women rehabilitation centre where the living conditions were not good.⁷⁶

Due to the girl prostitutes' confession of being guilty, the power of the government law could not be brought to bear on the people who trafficked them. The governmental authorities who exercise the judicial power should be aware of such a loophole in judicial law regarding the treatment of the girls, and make some amendment. However, in reality, they were not aware and there was negligence in the execution of the power of the governments. The above is the situation in Taiwan before 1989 in terms of the treatment of the girl prostitutes. We have previously quoted from Cher Chhung Li's criticism of such a situation as "No Law, No human Resource, No Money, Indifference."⁷⁷

Such a situation needed to be changed and Mrs. Wang believed that the zeal of the Lord Almighty would deliver that change.⁷⁸ Mrs Wang's conviction was in fact one of the strong motivation for the establishment of Garden of Hope. Since the establishment of GOH, they have been striving to make Taiwanese government remedy the loophole in the regulation regarding the treatment of the girl prostitutes.⁷⁹ We will explain the processes of their struggle below.

It is not easy to change the law or even make an amendment. First one needs to make the people concerned know that there are problems and where the problems in the regulations are. Next, one needs to make it a public concern to bring pressure on the government or the legislators. Then, one also needs to have good timing to present the case for the amendment whilst the legislators are discussing the relevant regulations. For all these pre-conditions GOH had made it and finally got the Juvenile law amended regarding how to treat the girl prostitutes. In what follows we analyse the situations in Taiwan at that period of time and the processes of how the GOH, for the sake of caring for the girl prostitutes, took actions to resist the

⁷⁶ Interview with Liang Wang.

⁷⁷ Cher Chhung Li, "From Juridical System to Examine the Treatment of the Girl Prostitutes", p. 67.

⁷⁸ See Wang-Huei Liang Wang, "The Zeal of the Lord Almighty Will Accomplish This" in Wang-Huei Liang Wang, (ed.), *Give Her a Piece of Land to Grow*, (English Version), pp. 65-69.

⁷⁹ Wang Huei Liang Wang in interview.

inefficiency and neglect of governmental power of Taiwanese.

III.4.1.1. Regarding the unfairness of the law

There was unfairness in the treatment of the girl prostitutes in the regulation of Crime law. The girl prostitutes, if they were forced, should be treated as victim and not the offenders (ref. III-3.2). But the government did treat them as offenders. When the girl prostitutes were caught and sent to the court, they would be sentenced as guilty and sent to jail or to Juvenile Court for hearing. This was the situation in Taiwan before 1989 regarding the girl prostitutes who were caught by government judicial authorities; there was no other law to be against such an unfair situation toward the girl prostitutes. Such a weakness in the judicial power of Taiwan government was described by the founder Mrs. Wang,

“The disposition is very unfair to the teenage prostitutes, especially when they were sold into prostitution. They are victims, yet they must face lawful sanctions when discovered. There is no law which protects them. This is completely unacceptable and unreasonable.”⁸⁰

However, there is still another problem in the judicial system regarding the treatment of the girl prostitutes. It relates to the punishment for the people who traffic the girls. As we have examined in section III-3.2, the charge for people who trafficked the girl to be prostitutes can only be based on crime law which is only potent when the victim presents their case to the court. In the girl prostitutes' cases, if the girl prostitutes in the court confess that they themselves are guilty of doing so, in other words, not forced by pimps or anyone else, the court then could not sentence pimps but release them.

Why would the girls possibly confess that they were guilty and let the pimps who were in fact forcing them get away from the punishment of governmental law? Next we will examine the reasons behind it.

⁸⁰ Wang-Huei Liang Wang, I got permission in interview to have a full quotation quoted from the article she wrote, “The Blighted Buds: On the Problems of Child Protection” in Wang-Huei Liang Wang, (ed.), *Give Her a Piece of Land to Grow* (English Version), pp. 59-64, p. 60. Liang Wang is the founder of GOH. So what she describes for me is from her first hand information for what happened in this stage of the Taiwan history. Liang Wang's mother was a legislator in the Li Fa Yung of Taiwan, so she was very familiar how the legislative regulation was set and she could get information regarding Li Fa Yung very quick from her mother.

III-4.1.2. *The Change of the Regulation in Juvenile Welfare Law*

In January 1989, the Juvenile Welfare Law was in the second stage of reading and only after one stage more the law would be passed by the legislative assemblies. If it passed the stage of the third reading, then it would need to wait for a long time for an amendment to be added into the regulations. It was then that GOH got the information from one of members of their board of trustees who was a governmental legislator. So GOH took prompt action and united other institutions that were concerned with the problem of young girl prostitution to plea to the Li Fa Yuan (the Legislative Assembly of Taiwan) regarding adding regulations into the Juvenile Welfare Law to protect the young prostitute victims.⁸¹

Eventually, GOH worked through it and had the amendment regulations added into the juvenile welfare regulations.⁸² The new regulation, regulation 9, deals with how to deal with the caught young prostitutes. The previous way was modified as the following:

- The young prostitutes who were trafficked to do so could be sent to the shelters of the social welfare institutions to be protected.⁸³
- If the caught young prostitute was voluntarily doing the business she would be sent to the Juvenile Court.⁸⁴ Usually, the Juvenile Court will sentence them to be protected and disciplined by their parents or under the supervision of social welfare institutions for the period of between 6 months and 2 years.

In either case, the caught girls all needed to be under supervision and investigation of the social welfare institutions for one month to determine the cause of their becoming a prostitute. During the period of investigation, the girls usually stayed at the two rehabilitation institutions for women. However, even the regulation was changed, there was still problems unresolved. We shall explore below.

⁸¹ Chhi, "Analyzing the Problem of the Girl Prostitutes in Taiwan from Sociology", in GOH, (ed.), *Treatment and Prevention of the Girl Prostitutes*, pp.51-57, p. 54.

⁸² Here we state this in a very direct manner. However, during that period of time, the situation was somehow emergent and required a very quick organization of all sources of information and powers to push the amendment of regulation 9 through.

⁸³ Juvenile Welfare Regulation article 9.

⁸⁴ Juvenile Welfare Regulation article 22.

III-4.1.3. *The Problem Unresolved—the dilemma in reality*

After the new regulation has been set for the girl prostitutes, one thing the workers of GOH did not expect was that, even though the law was changed seemingly for the benefit of the trafficked girl prostitutes, by the end of 1989 the real situation was still unchanged. According to Wang, the fact was showed in the data that from January, 1989 to January, 1990, not any case was traced to be protected by that amended juvenile regulations.⁸⁵ Furthermore, within the entire year of 1990, still very few cases were found under the regulation 9 of Juvenile Welfare Law. Where did the problems arise? How could the trafficked girls not be found and put under the protection of the social welfare institutions?

The problems were examined in the joint negotiation meeting between Social welfare department of Taipei and Juvenile Court in Jan. 8, 1990 and both sectors acknowledged that there was a weakness in the law in this regard. The leak of the law was that the law did not give the governmental authorities that found the girls the power to enforce these girls to stay at the social welfare shelter so that they can be under the protection of governmental juridical power (ref. II-2). Therefore, when the police caught the girl prostitutes, they could only send these girls to Juvenile Court for hearing.

In the Juvenile Court, it was found that most of the girls confessed that they “were voluntarily” in the business, and then the court could only sentence them to stay at home under their parents’ protection and discipline.⁸⁶ So, even though there is regulation 9 to provide the enforced girls a shelter, there were not many cases which took the benefit from it. Even according to the new regulation, only when the girls confessed that they were forced to do so, could they be sent to the shelter under protection. Since they confessed in the court that they did the business out of their own will, namely, they confessed that they were guilty; they then needed to be sent back to their parents for discipline sake. But, why did most of the girls, after being caught, confess that they voluntarily did the job? What were the hidden reasons for them to do so? We shall continue to explore.

⁸⁵ Liang Wang, in interview. The fact she referred is in her article, “The Blighted Buds”, in Wang-Huei Liang Wang, *Give Her a Piece of Land*, Chinese version, pp. 46-49, p. 47.

⁸⁶ Liang Wang, “Reviews and Suggestions on the Current Protection Measures (of Child Prostitutes)” in *Give Her a Piece of Land*, Chinese version, pp. 57-73, p. 60.

III.4.1.4. The Hidden Real Reasons—confess as guilty or not?

Why did most of the prostituted girls confess that they were guilty of doing the business voluntarily? Attorney Lin had very analysed the dilemma as follows:

According to the crime law of Taiwan, the relevant regulation to charge people who “raped or harassed” persons under 14 years old, the former can be sentenced more than five years in jails, the latter can be sentenced no more than 7 years in jail (Crime law 221 II, 224 II) (ref. section III-3.2)

According to lawyer Lin, if the girls were sold by their parents, in the court they very probably would confess that they were guilty of doing the commercial sexual transaction. If they said their parents sold them, due to the fact that their parents trafficked their own daughters, then their parents may be sentenced to jails for years. But the ironical fact was that because the girls confessed this way, the pimp could get away from being sentenced as guilty of trafficking these girls. Furthermore, the girls, in confessing they were voluntarily in the business, would be sentenced to be sent back to their parents to be disciplined, since they were not yet grown up. Such a sentence, in a Chinese saying, was “To send a sheep into the mouth of a wolf”. In many cases, the girls’ parents were exactly the ones sold them into the hands of the pimps which lead them into the commercial sex business.

Thus, in these cases, even before the girls arrived home, the pimps had already waited at the door of their home to take them back to the brothels.⁸⁷ Wang in the interview has mentioned the point,

A very ironical thing I heard from one of my clients was that the girls was sentenced to be brought back home by her parents and yet, not long after that she was taken back to the brothel again. Then in order to meet the requirement of the police that the girls in the custody need to report to the policy in a regular base, the pimp also regularly took the girl to the police to keep the record of report.⁸⁸

⁸⁷ Wang-Huei Liang Wang, “The Blighted Buds: On the Problems of Child Prostitution”, p. 48.

⁸⁸ Wang Huei Liang Wang in interview.

Therefore, the law in Taiwan regarding how to protect the girl prostitutes has indeed loopholes and is in need of amendment. As Mrs Wang stated,

“Those who treated them (girl prostitutes) as milk cows would do their best to have their guardians take the girls home and push them back to the brothels. I thought of those young and tender girls who were sold by their parents and who were not protected by a single law even after being spotted. It was too hard for me to take. But this is the reality; reality like this, however, should be changed and must be changed!”⁸⁹

How should the regulation be changed? The principles were: first, the girl prostitutes must have their own attorney or representatives to represent them in the court to state the true situations of the prostitutes. Furthermore, the government authorities such as police should have independent rights/powers to sue the traffickers of these girl victims, not just waiting for the victims to sue their persecutors.⁹⁰ We will continue to analyze them.

III-4.1.5. A Way that Can Remedy the Leak of the Law

The founders of GOH learned, from many fruitless efforts of helping the girls in the past, that a new regulation was needed to be incorporated (see below discussion on regulation 9) into the law. In the past, the regulation was that a rape case was only opened when the victim presents the case to the court. The reason may be to protect the girl victim, if they do not want their encounter to be known by the public so that they will have a double tragedy. But for the forced girl prostitutes, the treatment should not consider such a situation. Otherwise they cannot be rescued by the juridical authority as we have described above that these forced girl prostitutes do not have capacity to defend for themselves. So this was an unjust situation for the girl prostitutes in terms of the treatment of them in the regulation of the law. The juridical system cannot wait for these girls to present their cases to the court, but should take initiative to observe the girl prostitute's case, if find that they were in fact forced “to

⁸⁹ Get permission in interview to have a full quotation from Wang Huei Liang Wang, “Reviews and Suggestions on the Current Protection Measures (of Child Prostitutes)” in *Give Her a Piece of Land*, English Version, pp. 57-73, p. 65.

⁹⁰ Chhin Fong Wang, “To Examine the Problems of The Girl Prostitution from the Perspective of the Law”, p.29.

do the business”, then the persons who trafficked them should be prosecuted.⁹¹

Without such enforcement from the governmental juridical authority, in the past, the staffs of GOH found it very difficult to reach out to the girls to help them. Wang gave a statistic figure to show the fact,

“A girl who had been sold by her father was spotted three years later because a relative reported her to the police. She was sent to the social welfare authorities for protection; however ten other girls from the same brothels were neglected because there was no one to prosecute them. It was quite ridiculous, yet it was reality. The police was not obliged to send the girls to the social welfare authorities according to Article 22 of the Juvenile Welfare Law.”⁹²

But how can the government increase the efficiency of policy to find the working girl prostitutes? Can a change in the law remedy such a need and if so, how should the regulation be amended? The GOH have worked on this point, too, to find the necessary changes in the regulations.

III-4.2.To Be a Resistance to the Inadequate Knowledge of the Governmental Power Holders

Many of the legislators did not know how the regulation should be amended even if they had been aware that there were problems in the regulations of the law regarding how to treat the girl prostitutes fairly. To remedy this lack of adequate knowledge, GOH and other organizations concerned⁹³ took some actions to respond to it.

“One of the major things that we had to do at that period of time was to push the government do something with the regulations of the treatment of the girl prostitutes.”⁹⁴

⁹¹ Cher Chhung Li, “From Juridical System to Examine the Treatment of the Girl Prostitutes”, p. 65.

⁹² Get permission in interview to have a full quotation from Liang Wang, “Reviews and Suggestions on the Current Protection Measures”, P. 87.

⁹³ Some of these groups are such as the World Vision in Taiwan, Catholic De Lian Home and Garden of Hope. Chhi, “Analyzing the Problem of the Girl Prostitutes in Taiwan from Sociology”, in GOH, (ed.), *Facets of Treatment and Prevention of the Girl Prostitutes*, pp.51-57, p. 54.

⁹⁴ Rev. Chern Chong San in interview. Rev. San was the first chairperson of the board of trustee of GOH.

The amendments they suggested for article 8, 21 and 22 should be:

- Once found the girl prostitutes should to be sent to be observed for at least one month to make sure the real reason for their being a prostitute so that the court can make a suitable sentence.
- To those who were forced to be a prostitute, the officer should send them to be sheltered and protected; to those who voluntarily do the work, the court need to sentence them to have supervised education.
- The guardians of the girl prostitutes needed to have a special law to deal with them so that the court could sentence that the girls to be sent directly to a suitable institution to be sheltered and protected. In this way, the girl would not need to be under the power of their parents again.
- Whoever forces the girl to be prostitutes should be sentenced severely.⁹⁵

Furthermore, they explicate that the amendment of 21, the original one,

“The related police officers or the juvenile welfare institution once having got the information needed to deal with the problem right away and if there is difficulties, then report to the concerned department in charge” is not active enough. So, they suggested that the amendment should be edified into *“Once found the case should be dealt with right away and ‘report to the concerned department in charge and to give the necessary help.’ (taking “if there is difficulties” out from the regulation)”*⁹⁶

The opinion of GOH and the other supportive groups are added into the amendment, too, such as

- ...the case is found, the department in charge need to send the case to suitable institution to be observed for a period of two weeks to one month.
- If the case fits into the situation described in the juvenile law article 3, then need to send the case directly to Juvenile court of the local court.
- If the juvenile court finds that the case is not suitable to be turned to their guardians (usually parents) then, the case need to be referred to a suitable institution or juvenile social welfare institution. If the department in charge thinks it is necessary, they can send the youth to professional institution to give the youth supervised education or discipline that is between 6 months and two

⁹⁵ Chhi, “Analyzing the Problem of the Girl Prostitutes in Taiwan from Sociology”, p. 54.

⁹⁶ Chhi, “Analyzing the Problem of the Girl Prostitutes in Taiwan from Sociology”, P. 55.

years.⁹⁷

So the regulation 9 (the content of it is as mentioned above) is very important in terms of helping these girls out of the pimp's hands. According to the amended Item 3 of Article 22 and Article 9 of the Juvenile welfare Law, once the girl prostitutes, no matter whether voluntarily or forced doing it, were found by the police, the police agency were entitled to report to the social welfare department.

The insight to know the need to implement such an article into the law was learned by GOH's workers' frustrated efforts trying to help the prostituted girls. But they have resisted such a cause for their works; they resisted the neglect and inefficiency in the exercise of the power of government authority.

III-4.3. To Make the Governmental Authority a Power of Resistance against Pimp's Direct Oppressing Power to the Girl Prostitutes

Whether the girl prostitutes are semi-voluntarily in the business or are forced to do the work, the major reasons to cause them to be trapped include the prevailing ideology demanding to have virgin girl prostitutes in the market, pimps' seduction and advertisements. To counteract this, GOH appealed to Taiwan government to make or amend the necessary punitive regulations to increase the years of punishment or to make the police authority investigate the prostitution business more seriously and frequently.⁹⁸ We will analyse their actions against the power of the pimps over the girls. First we need to know why it is very difficult for the girl prostitutes to get out of the hand of the pimps.

III-4.3.1. The difficulties of the girl prostitutes to get out of the brothel

Once the girl is sold or trapped in the brothel it is very difficult for them to get out of it. One social worker in interview referred to the article of Liao in which Liao described why it is difficult for the girl to get out of the life at the brothel:

Objectively, they are personally confined directly or indirectly. Furthermore, they have complicated feelings of fear. Their ability to accuse a violator (at

⁹⁷ Chhi, "Analyzing the Problem of the Girl Prostitutes in Taiwan from Sociology", in GOH, (ed.), *Facets of Treatment and Prevention of the Girl Prostitutes*, pp.51-57, p. 54.

⁹⁸ In Taiwan, usually the girl prostitutes also worked at the brothel. So, if police check the brothel more often, they will have more chances to find girl prostitutes.

the court), both verbally or in writing, and even their knowledge of the process are limited. Because most of the girls are dropouts and are not certain whether there is a place for them to appeal or how to appeal. Their desire to appeal for help is very low. Even if they take action, some uncontrollable variables, such as the disclosure of rescue information to the pimps, the ignorance of the girls...etc, result in the failure of the rescue operation. The victims are finally plunged into the hot pot again, unable to get any protection.⁹⁹

On the other hand, the social worker talked about how the girls could be out of the brothel and under the care of the governmental authority in the first place:

There are three ways that they girls came to be under our care: they may be found by the police's active search; their relatives report to the police because they have been missing for a period of time; they may meet one customer who has mercy toward them and report to the police to find them.¹⁰⁰

She further explained that

Amongst them, being found by the police offices is the quickest, most direct and effective way to help them. The process will be very direct; they will be sent from the police station to a suitable social welfare department, and then the official social welfare department will find a social welfare institution that will be a halfway home for the girls to stay for a short or longer term, where they do not need to worry being forced back into the brothel by the pimps.¹⁰¹

Furthermore the following statistics can tell us the effectiveness if the information can be passed directly from the police authority to the social welfare institutions:¹⁰²

⁹⁹ Ingrid Liao, "On the Implementation of the Juvenile Welfare Law to Protect the Child Prostitutes" in Wang-Huei Liang Wang, (ed.), *Give Her a Piece of Land to Grow*, pp. 70-76, p. 72. The original paper was written in April 1989 when the author served as a member of the board of trustee in the Garden of Hope Foundation. p. 72.

¹⁰⁰ One of the social workers in interview.

¹⁰¹ Ibid.

¹⁰² Wang-Huei Liang Wang & Jung-Der Wang, "Estimation of Size of Girls Involved in Sex-related Trades in Taiwan" in Wang-Huei Liang Wang, (ed.), *Give Her a Piece of Land to Grow*, (English

Ways for locating girls	persons	%
By authorized district police officers	53	48.6
By unassigned district police officers	38	34.9
Police district unknown	11	10.1
Self-escapes	5	4.6
No answer	2	1.8
Total	109	100

From the above statistics we can see that the resources or information about the prostituted girls coming from the police make up 93.6% of the total. It means that the great majority of the girl prostitutes rescued was through the report of the police.

Once they were in the brothel working for commercial sexual transactions, it was very difficult for a girl prostitutes to escape. Most of them get out of the brothel only because they were caught by the police whilst they were having customers. Therefore, the governmental authority needs to enforce the efficiency of the work of police, if Taiwanese government do want to help the girl prostitutes.

III-4.3.2. The amendment of the regulations in the law regarding the treatment of the girl prostitutes and the punishment of people who trafficked

There are reasons why it is hard for the girls to step out of the “business” once they are in it as we explored in the previous section. They were under strict guard of the pimps in brothel. The pimps who made their profits by trafficking the girls to be prostitutes and neglecting all the girls’ human rights must be punished. Without the sanction from the juridical authority of the government in Taiwan, GOH has experienced the impotence of their efforts as we have seen from the opinion of the staff and described previously. It will be more effective if there is a regulation for the executive officers to base on. As Legislator Yu Siane Lin comments that,

Only based on the law the executive officers can have authority to sanction the oppressors. To have a law to punish, sanction and confine

Version), 213-277, p. 274. In the interview the author agreed to use it to illustrate the point she wants to make for the importance of the police as a resource.

those who traffic the girl prostitutes or to protect the girls from the pimp's hand is a more effective way.¹⁰³

Therefore, GOH worked very hard to demand Taiwanese legislators be aware of the blind point of the regulation that caused the girl prostitutes to confess they were guilty and hence the pimps and people who trafficked could get away from the punishment of the law. Furthermore, to secure direct sentence for the pimps, GOH demanded Taiwanese government should amend the blind spot in the regulations so that the juridical power can indeed help the girl prostitutes out of the pimp's hand and also put people who trafficked the girls under the sanctions of the law. We have discussed in the previous sections the actions they took regarding changing the laws.

III-4.4. To Challenge the Power of Prevailing Ideologies that Demeans Girls in the Contemporary Society of Taiwan

We have discussed the causes for the girls becoming prostitutes. One of the reasons is that they were caught by the power of the ideologies that have been passed down through the generations (III-3.4.). Those ideologies have prevailed in people's mind; they regard the girls as objects to be used for men's own benefits or interests. In order to transform the prevailing ideologies that make the girls objects or to be objectified, GOH have done the following:

III-4.4.1. To the ideologies that encourage men to have sexual interaction with virgins, GOH denounced that concept in the public through media and publication so that many men can be deluded from that illusion.

GOH have sensed that in the first stage of their work, they could not stop the entire enterprise of commercial sexual transaction. So, in the first stage they focused the goal of their movement on preventing people using the girl prostitutes to satisfy their sexual desire. In the public scenery, their propaganda was to be "Against using girls as prostitutes" or "Against using girls as objects for sexual satisfaction." They united the related businesses such as the hotel business, the tourist business to sign a "the covenant/contract against using girls prostitutes" (April 1993). The movement had gained a lot of sympathy from the public society in Taiwan. Newspapers and the TV broadcast had frequent reports on girl prostitutes' issues (October 1993). Therefore,

¹⁰³ Yu Siane Lin, "Making a Law and the Girl Prostitutes", in *The Prevention and Treatment*, 42, p. 42.

there was great pressure at that time from public opinion on the users of girl prostitutes. The picture below is one of the logos the GOH used to campaign against the ideology that prefer suing the girls to satisfy men's sexual desire.¹⁰⁴



In the section below, III-4.6, we will list an outline of the sequence of activities that GOH did in the society of Taiwan in order to care for the girl prostitutes.

III-4.4.2. To the ideologies that viewed the girls as deviants in the society, GOH illuminated the real situation of the girls to the public.

In section II-3 we explored that some ideologies may not be true but have power to influence how people think and behave. Regarding how to treat the girl prostitutes, some police officers, prosecutors and judges in the juvenile welfare court have, by stereotyping them, put them at a disadvantage in the hearing of the court. GOH have made a great effort to make these people who hold power understand how these girls are hurt and how they are victims of many powers in their relationship instead of

¹⁰⁴ Picture resource is from the GOH's archive collection in Yia Chin Hsui, (ed.), *薪火相傳，勇敢前行* (*Passing on the Fire and Walking Courageously Forward*) (Taipei: GOH, 2003), p. 88. The text in the logo says, Forum of "Purge pornography's debased culture, prevent abuse of young prostitutes" (up); "Founded on human right, prevent the abuse of young prostitutes" (cross line); "Garden of Hope" (below).

being deviants in the society so that they can judge with fairness toward the girl prostitutes. Likewise such an effort can also arouse sympathy among the public toward the girl prostitutes. It encourages people to give financial and other support to those girls. For this we will have a more detailed study in the next chapter, "A Long Journey toward Recovery: In the Halfway Home". One of the strategies of GOH adopted for this purpose is through the public advertisement of charity in Taiwan. The picture below is used for such a function.¹⁰⁵



¹⁰⁵ Picture resources from the archive collections of the picture in their fifteenth anniversary publication, Yia Chin Hsui, (ed.), 薪火相傳·勇敢前行 (*Passing the fire On and Walking Courageously Forward*), (Taipei: GOH, 2003), p. 76. Having the permission from GOH to use.

Below are the collections of the advertisements that GOH made for the mass media to be against the objectification of the girls in the past.¹⁰⁶



▲ 1993年勵智開始藉著公益廣告傳達保護少女的理念，希望引起社會大眾關注未成年少女所面臨的色情服務、性剝削、性侵害等問題

¹⁰⁶ Picture resources from the archive collections of the picture in their fifteenth anniversary publication, Yia Chin Hsui, (ed.), 薪火相傳，勇敢前行 (Passing the fire On and Walking Courageously Forward, p.97. Having the permission from GOH to use.

III-4.5. To Be a Resistance to the Abused Parental Power

In our exploration of governmentality in II-2, one of the powers that governmental authority has granted to their people is the guardian power to the parents to discipline their children before they reach to their adulthood. But when the parents did not care with love, whether under the pressure of financial need, or for whatever causes, they may sell their children to satisfy their own needs. As we have explored in section III-3.3 that, from the statistics, many girl prostitutes were sold to become a prostitute by their parents in the first place. For the abused parental powers, GOH petitioned the court to protect girls like these and forced Li Fa Yung to make amendment to the original regulations so that once the girls were found, they could be sent to the relevant institutions to be sheltered and protected.

Furthermore, from our exploration we have known that in order for the girl prostitutes to be able to resist the abused parental guardian powers, they need to be equipped in two areas: (1) To have a subjective awareness of their existence as distinctive human beings so that they do not allow themselves to be trapped into prostitution work for parents' debts. (2) To have capacity to live independently, in the sense that they are equipped with the skills necessary to work for a living other than being a prostitute.¹⁰⁷

Many girls did not have the capacity to make a living for themselves other than using their bodies when they were first found by the police or sent to court. The important thing in helping these girls is to train them to have a skill in order to make a living for themselves, so that they can have the capacity to be independent from their parents.¹⁰⁸ Before they can reach that independent stage, they need money to live on and a place to live. GOH has considered all these practical problems for them and therefore prepared a home and applied to the government for their living expenses. All these things are part of the processes of empowering the girls.¹⁰⁹ However, in order to live independently the girl prostitutes need more financial support than the government provides. The girl prostitutes needs to be empowered to recover from the trapped power of their past wounds that caught them and made them prostitutes as

¹⁰⁷ GOH have worked hard in these two areas in particular after the girls actually live in the halfway home. For this we will have more in depth exploration in the next chapter of our case study, "In the Halfway Home".

¹⁰⁸ Interviewed from supervisor of social workers regarding how they help the girl prostitutes.

¹⁰⁹ According to one of the social workers of GOH, this is one of major things they are doing for the girls' who under their protection.

we have explored in section III-3.5.¹¹⁰

III-4.6. To Be a Resistance to the Corrupted Social Phenomena

Many brothels in fact are run by the gangs. There are two symptoms in the society of Taiwan regarding this fact:

III-4.6.1. There were collusion between these gangs and some of the police.

Very often the information that “the police are coming to check the brothel” was often passed to the brothel before the police actually came. So, the police could not catch the sexual transaction on the scene, namely, in the time when they were actually having customers.¹¹¹

III-4.6.2. The neglect of human rights for the girl prostitutes

In Chern Chen stated the status of the girl prostitutes:

While the girl prostitutes were under the control of the gangs or pimps, they were treated as objects to be owned, used, passed around in transaction, confined and beaten, having no contact with the outside world, no freedom to take rest even in sickness...No any human right for the sold girl prostitutes.¹¹²

To the above two social phenomena, GOH have been resisting in two ways:

- *To rescue the girls out of the gang run brothels even if they themselves may risk their own personal security.*

Rev. San shared in interview that

GOH knew very clearly that, because they helped the girl prostitutes out of the hands of the gang, they stepped into the territories of the power of the gang, and the gang might

¹¹⁰ Also in an interview with one of the counsellor of the girls.

¹¹¹ Interviewed from Chaplain of GOH.

¹¹² In Chern Chen, “Girl Prostitutes as a Modern Slave System” in *Facets of the Prevention and Treatment of the Girl Prostitutes in Taiwan*, pp. 18-21, p. 19.

retaliate.¹¹³

But since the founders of GOH have perceived from their faith the rescue of the girl prostitutes as the goal of their ministry, they still went ahead and did it. They helped not only the girls who directly escape from the brothel, but also the girl prostitutes that were sent to them by the court or the girls who called for their help.

- *To treat the girls under their protection with love and allow them to make personal decision*

One of the social workers explained the types of the girls who were sent to GOH by the court:

There are two types of the girl prostitutes sent by the court. Some are forced and needs to be under the protection of governmental authority. Others are voluntarily doing the work but their parents are found not suitable to discipline them. In the meantime, they are obliged to stay at the half way home, a home GOH established for the girl prostitutes under their care. For the former, it depends on the girls own will whether they want to stay at the half way home or not. If they do not want to stay they are free to leave. But if they choose to stay, they also need to follow the regulations of the half way home for the sake of security and discipline of all the girls who stay there.¹¹⁴

As the girls stay at half way home, GOH treat them with love and as an individual with their own subjective thinking. Step by step, they guide these girls toward the path of recover. As for the detailed training programs, we will have a further exploration in the next chapter.

III-4.7. To Make the Girls Aware of the Self's Subjectivity as an Individual Differentiated from their Family Needs and from the Prevailing Consumptive Culture

This point also relates to the concept of resistance to the abused parental power as we

¹¹³ Interview with Rev. San.

¹¹⁴ Interview with a social worker of GOH.

have mentioned in section III-4.3. Many girls became prostitutes because they want to help their families out of their financial crisis. According to one traditional Taiwanese ideology, to help parents in their needs is what a good daughter should do.¹¹⁵ However, in counselling these girls, GOH tries to make them aware that they cannot make themselves objects to be sold for their families; rather they are precious individuals and need to save themselves first. One of the counsellors shared in interview that, "In our counselling the girls, we often remind them that to be a good daughter of their parents is to protect themselves first."¹¹⁶

On the other hand while being used as prostitutes, the girls were deprived by others their autonomy. The value systems that they learned from their very early age have disappeared. Their self-esteem has been lowered with the result that they tend to give up on themselves. For some extreme cases, start taking drug or committing crime. Therefore to help the girl toward their recovery, it is very important that they can regain their subjective control of themselves. To regain the self subjectivity (ref. section II-4) for these girls means to learn how to be aware of their inner hurt feelings, to make decision for their daily life and to have self discipline for the thing needed to be done by themselves and etc.

As we have examined in II-4, a person's subjectivity can be formed through the factors from outside of the self, including both positive and negative influences. What GOH tried to instil into the girls is a more positive sense of the self. GOH guides them to have more control over the self's emotion and behaviours from their past wounds whilst they are living in the home GOH has set for them, the half way home. In a word, in helping these girls, one of the major tasks is to help them to be aware of their subjectivity, to have control over themselves so that in the future life, whatever may happen to them, they can have their own subjective thinking and judgement in responding to those encounters.¹¹⁷ Nevertheless, to achieve this, there are a myriad of things that need to be done. This we will also explore as they relate to the caring activities that GOH, the pastoral care provider, provides for these girls, but we will explore this more closely in the next chapter.

¹¹⁵ Chhon Wen Ho, "To Examine the Girl Prostitutes' Problem from Sociological Perspectives", in *Prevention and Treatment*, 59-62, p. 60. The author is a consultant of GOH and a professor in Sociology at Chong Hsin University in Taiwan.

¹¹⁶ One of the counselors in interview.

¹¹⁷ Institution of Garden of Hope, "The Influences of Sexual Abuse and Violence against the Girls to the Victims", in GOH (ed.), *The Beautiful World of Garden of Hope* (Taipei: GOH, 2002), 104 -126, p. 119.

III-4.8. To Wisely Tackle Developmentally the Complicated and Interwoven Power Issues relating to the Problems of Girl Prostitutes in the Society of Taiwan

We have explored Nan Chou Su's analysis of the whole prostitution business in Taiwan in the previous section (III-3.1.2). It involves many kinds of businesses and many people's livings and interests. If any one wants to dissolve the entire enterprise, they will encounter great resistance from those people who have their living or interests involved.¹¹⁸ So, the workers of GOH know that they could not deal with such a vast interwoven enterprise in one day. Rather they need to single out the girl prostitutes' problems and make them explicit so that the public can realise that the clients of this business are in fact using the girls as "objects" of their sexual desire.¹¹⁹

The general executive, Ms. Chi, mentioned the social campaigns they had in the past years:

We have a movement 'Not to Use Girl Prostitutes' in which GOH have invited the people who work in the hotel business and tourism to sign a 'Covenant of not to use girl prostitutes.' We also held 'Run for the care of girl prostitutes' and 'Public hearing for the problems of the girl prostitutes' and etc.¹²⁰

¹¹⁸ Nan Chou Su, "Outline and Strategy for the Action against Using Girl Prostitutes", in *The Treatment and Prevention*, 9-12, p. 10-11.

¹¹⁹ Wrong, *Power*, p. 85. Wrong explicates that such a sanction from the public is in order to keep the order of the society. And the way of sanction depends on the available punitive methods of individual society. Also, interviewed from Wang Huei Liane Wang.

¹²⁰ General executive of GOH, interviewed.

According to Chi, below are the actions they took in the society of Taiwan after the GOH was established:¹²¹

1988.5	Establish Garden of Hope Foundation
1990.4	Establish short-term shelter for emergency protection
1991.11	Halfway House registered as 'Garden of Hope, Taipei Christian Private Halfway House'
1993.3	Petition Legislative Yuan for the legislation of "Child Prostitution Prevention Act"
1993.4	Launch "Anti-Child Prostitution in Taiwan" as a series of campaign Kaohsiung Hotel Association swear allegiance for "Anti-child Prostitution Movement".
1993.12	Child Prostitution problem become the annual top ten social welfare news
1994.5	Establishment "Dandelion Counselling Centre" and actively help sexually abused children ¹²²
1995.7	Legislative Yuan enacted "The Law to prevent sexual transaction Involving children and Juveniles" (Originally proposed as "Child Prostitution Prevention Act" by Garden of Hope Foundation)

¹²¹ General Executive of the GOH, Chi Huei Jong, in interview.

¹²² For the need to establish this centre we will discuss it in the next chapter.

Below is the cover page of the GOH's 15th anniversary publication, it shows one of the GOH's "street action", namely to walk on the street with dramatized costumes to campaign for "Anti-Child Prostitution in Taiwan".



III-4.9. To Organize Resources of Powers to Resist the Powers that Trapped the Girl Prostitutes

The problems of the girl prostitutes have resulted from several social factors in Taiwan and those factors are interwoven together. GOH as a private run non-profit organization on one hand had to resist the power of pimps and on the other hand needed to deal with the loophole of the government authority and its efficiency. Therefore, they know they need to find the available resources they can utilize to resist the powers in order to care for the girl prostitutes, according to the chaplain of the GOH.¹²³ In the above sequence of actions against all kinds of powers that trapped the girl prostitutes, GOH have benefited significantly from two resources in particular.

III-4.9.1. *The available power from human resources*

Legislator Chhun Chui Hsu was very devoted in the protection of the girl prostitutes.¹²⁴ In 1988 she proposed twice to the Li Fa Yung (Legislative Council) for a special discussion of issue of the girl prostitutes and in 1991 she proposed it again.¹²⁵ Her effort made the other legislators pay much more attention to the problems of the girl prostitutes in the society of Taiwan. Even though most of the legislators still lack the experience of how to really actualize the protection for the girl prostitutes as the other social workers who worked with the girl prostitutes such as Wang had. Other than Liang, there were many key people in the society of Taiwan invited as “Fathers/Mother of Garden of Hope”, a special term for those people who were concerned with the girl prostitutes. Many of these people have high social status in Taiwan and have powers over the changing of government policies regarding the social welfare of the girls.¹²⁶ Both the present president of Taiwan (the second one from left in the picture below) and the previous Minister of the Department of Domestic Affairs (the second one from right) had once been the “Father of Garden of Hope”.¹²⁷

¹²³ The Chaplain of the Garden of Hope.

¹²⁴ Chhun Chui Hsu was a legislator of Li Fa Yung, the founder of GOH, Wang Huei Laing Wang's mother. By the time I carried out interviews at GOH in the summer of 2003, Chhun Chui Hsu had passed away.

¹²⁵ Chhi, “Analyzing the Problem of the Girl Prostitutes in Taiwan from Sociology”, p. 58.

¹²⁶ Interview with the chaplain of the Garden of Hope.

¹²⁷ Picture resource from the archive collection of the pictures of GOH in their fifteenth anniversary publication, Yia Chin Hsui, (ed.), *Passing on the Fire and Walking Courageously Forward*, p. 89.



III-4.9.2. To emphasize the need for the power from mass media

The present chairperson of GOH was a newspaper reporter. She is very aware of how the public point of view will be influenced by the mass media. So, she has made it a policy of GOH that, whenever GOH wants to proclaim their message in the society, they always give the announcement and brief statement to the reporter of the major newspaper or TV news reporters in Taiwan. The mass media also relish having privileged access to important issues for their daily report. Therefore, both sides have cooperated quite well. The picture below is “the masked service” held in one of their press conferences to make the hidden customers of the commercial sexual transaction of the girl prostitutes shown in the public.¹²⁸



¹²⁸ Picture resource, Yia Chin Hsui, (ed.), *Passing on the Fire and Walking Courageously Forward*, p. 89.

Conclusion

In this chapter we have presented an institution that provides pastoral caring activities for the prostituted girls in Taiwan, the Garden of Hope. We have also explicated the methodology of doing interview and literature survey during my four months of field trip with this institution.

Following the methodology, we explored the problems of the girl prostitutes in Taiwan, and answered the research questions we have introduced in the beginning of this chapter. Namely, “What are the power relationships of the prostituted girls involved in?” “What do the Governmental laws in Taiwan say regarding girl prostitution?” “What is it like for these girls to be under those power relationships?” “What can the pastoral care provider do for them?”

From our case study in this chapter, there were many power issues that trapped the girls to become a prostitute. Other than the voluntary cases who made their subjective choice to do the job, many girls were abused by their parents in their families and in extreme cases the girls were sold by their parents for their own benefits. Furthermore before 1989, there was a blind spot in governmental law that lead to the fact that the governmental authority did not protect the girl prostitutes in a proper way and the girl prostitutes were therefore disempowered from being free. In other words, in many case of the girl prostitutes, it is the inadequacy of the treatment of the prostituted girls in the juridical law, the dysfunctional uses of parental guardian power that have caused the girls to be prostitutes in the first place.

We have also identified the problems of the inefficiency of the police to carry out their duties to search for the trapped girl prostitutes, and the blind spots of the governmental regulation in providing protection for the girl prostitutes.

We also examined how the girls’ subjective perception was influenced by the prevailing ideology of youth culture so that there was high percentage among the girl prostitutes that were doing the commercial transaction voluntarily to make their living. In addition to those problems, we also illuminated to our readers the difficulties these girl prostitutes faced in their attempts to get out of the life of being a prostitute in the brothel.

What can the pastoral care provider do for the girl prostitutes who are under the domination of so many powers? In the second part of this chapter, we explored from

the perspective of the pastoral care giver, the way in which they helped their targeted clients, the prostituted girls. As we have examined in chapter one on pastoral theology and pastoral care, that pastoral care is about caring for all God's people who live among various relationships with other people and even with their environment. Also, the pastoral caring activities depend on who is it that provides the care and who are those cared for. From what we have explored concerning the caring activities of GOH for the prostituted girls in Taiwan, we can understand that how to provide the balance of the power or the power of resistance is the key issue that GOH have been wrestling with in the society of Taiwan for the sake of these girls.

In chapter II, we examine the theological reflection on issues of power from the sociological perspective, and have pointed out that Foucault's suspicion for the power holder is that as long as powers are granted by the authority there will always be those who abuse it because of the imperfection of the human nature. He has also alerted us to the true motivation behind the proclamation of any governmentality. Furthermore, in any power relationship, there can always be possibility for one dominating party over the other (ref. II-2). The example for Foucault's suspicion on the issue of power can be seen from what we have examined in the prostituted girls' various power relationships.¹²⁹

How to prevent the granted power from being abused and further hindering people from being what they are supposed to be is therefore a key guidepost for the GOH's providing their pastoral caring activities for the girl prostitutes. To the governmental power, GOH made their protest against it and united other organizations to demand Li Fan Yung to make amendments to it. To the inefficiency of the police in carrying out their power in search of the trapped girls, GOH demanded that the Taiwanese government should amend the regulation so as to force the police to execute their duties. To the power of the pimp over the girls, GOH raised protests against the Taiwanese government, urging them to increase the severity of punishment. As for the need of the prostituted girls who ran out of the pimp's hand, GOH not only provided accommodation for but also connected them with the various resources they need.¹³⁰ To the prevailing ideologies which are using the girl as prostitutes, GOH utilized the powers of the public and the mass media to condemn it. To the abused parental guardian power, GOH were against it by making the regulation of the law to

¹²⁹ The point can also be examined in the story of the PCT, as we have illustrated in I-3.

¹³⁰ For the part of the girls' life after brothel, we will have in-depth exploration in Ch. IV.

sanction it. To the vast and complicated issues of power in the society of Taiwan, GOH tackled it by singling out the problems, etc.

Some techniques regarding GOH's action for the girls' sake still need to be improved such as the techniques of how to successfully make Li Fa Yung (Legislative Council) change an amendment.¹³¹ The consultant of GOH, lawyer Lin addressed what he thought was in need of improvement in terms of the methodology of making an amendment into the regulations,

Regarding how to punish the pimp or those who help to traffick the girl prostitutes, the techniques of making such proposals and present them to the Li Fa Yung still need to be improved.¹³²

Some details such as those pointed out by Lee, that in reality there are many administrative routine works for the office holder to complete everyday, makes it very important in making any amendment to enlist the specific descriptions such as what the officers should do, how much funding they can have, how many staff they can employ to carry out the task and how many cases they need to deal with within a certain period of time. In this way the administrative delays can be decreased to its minimum.¹³³ As Prosecutor Lee of Hwa Liane Court also suggests,

In amending a regulation it is important that to skip the minor details. Instead it is important to give very concrete description of the objectives for the office holders to achieve.¹³⁴

Certainly, GOH is not yet perfect in what they have done to resist all kinds of powers with respect to their targeted clients, the girl prostitutes. Many techniques employed by GOH's could have been improved as we have commented above. However, from the above exploration we can see that GOH, as an institution to provide pastoral

¹³¹ In fact, as an institution of non-profession in law business, GOH, in cooperating with other relevant institutions in Taiwan, has done a very good job in acting to push the concerned governmental departments of Taiwan finally to make "Legislations of Children and Youth Commercial Sexual Transaction Prevention and Treatment" in 1995. It took three years of their efforts and many meetings with the relevant main officers of different departments of the government in Taiwan for this result. Regarding the long process of action to move the government to make a change in the regulations, please reference Yia Chin Hsui & Yi Sh Chan, (eds.), *台灣NGO 立法行動 (The Taiwan NGO's Actions for the Legislation)* (Taipei, Taiwan: GOH, 2002).

¹³² Ibid., p. 42.

¹³³ Ibid., p. 69.

¹³⁴ Cher Chhung Li, "From Juridical System to Examine the Treatment of the Girl Prostitutes", p. 69.

caring activities, have tried to resist the powers that deprived the prostituted girls' subjective capacity to protect or act for themselves in the hope that someday these girls may grow or be empowered to regain their subjective competency to resist the powers that oppress them (ref. II-4).

Last but not least, it is significant to note that the historical background of the macro surrounding of Taiwan, such as what PCT did in Taiwanese society (ref. Ch. I.), namely, to protest against the inadequate policy held by Taiwanese government run KMP such as the marshal law, do stimulate the courage of the staff of GOH to demand the government to make amendments in the juridical regulations regarding the treatment of the prostituted girls.¹³⁵

From what we have discussed in this chapter on the pastoral caring activities that GOH provides for the prostituted girls to fight against the powers that oppress them, we can echo along with Mandela's inspiring words expressed in his fight against the domination of any kind of powers:

I have fought against white domination and I have fought against black domination. I have cherished the ideal of a democratic and free society in which all person live together in harmony and with equal opportunity. It is an ideal which I hope to live for and to achieve, but if need be, it is an ideal for which I am prepared to die.¹³⁶

Nelson Mandela, 1964 and 1990

Even though GOH do not fight for a political democratic system, but the essence in the pastoral caring activities that GOH provides for the prostituted girls is similar to what Mandela meant in the above quotation, *to fight against the dominating powers no matter whatever forms they appear to be in the hope that all God's people can live equally and harmoniously*. What differs is only the entity that provides the pastoral care and the targeted cared clients or the objects. In our case study, the pastoral care

¹³⁵ Many of the staff or volunteers are members of the Presbyterian Churches in Taiwan like Wang , her mother, the legislator Hsu , and the chairperson of the first term of the board of the trustee of GOH, pastor Chern Chong San. Therefore what the PCT did in the society of Taiwan were not foreign to them.

¹³⁶ Quote from a poster with his picture.

provider is the Garden of Hope and the targeted cared objects are the prostituted girls.

In the next chapter, we will continue to explore the caring activities GOH provide for the girls who were rescued out of the brothel or who were sentenced by the government to be under the care of GOH. We are going to explore the difficulties these girls face and the power struggles they experienced when they want to resume the kind of life they lived before becoming prostitutes. We will also examine what GOH, as a pastoral care provider, has done to help these girls to deal with the difficulties they face and the power struggles they need to go through.

Chapter IV. Case Study of Garden of Hope (II) A Long Journey toward Recovery—In the Halfway Home

“To the victim of sexual abuse, how to recover from the past wound is a lesson of the entire life”¹

Introduction

In the final section of chapter III we addressed how GOH as a pastoral care provider has to resist, for the girl prostitutes' sake, all the above power issues so that they can help the girl prostitutes out of the traps created by those powers (III-4.1 to III-4.8.). Nevertheless, that is only the first part of our case study. The processes of helping these girls did not end at helping them out of the pimp's hand or other domineering power over them. Rather, there is in fact a long journey toward their recovery from the past wounds and to gain the kind the strength they need to live an ordinary life without being a prostitute again. This chapter is therefore to examine the second part of their journey.

Nevertheless, we have also found through our previous exploration that for most of the girls who were forced to be prostitutes, once rescued, it was better not to be sent back to their own home lest they should end up being brought back to the old life pattern of being a prostitute by people who have an interest in their working in commercial sex (III-3.1.). Some other girls who do the work semi-voluntarily also need a place to stay for a period of time so that they can be empowered to live a life other than being a prostitute. In both cases, there should be a place functioning as a halfway home to bridge the gap between the rehabilitation centre and a normal life in society. This is the vision that the founders of the Garden of Hope saw from their work with girl prostitutes. The founders of the institution found from their working experiences that the path toward recovery from the hurt of being a prostitute is long, and even after they get out of the life of prostitution the girls will need various resources to help them to recover from the past wounds and be empowered to live a new life in society. And these girls, in order to re-start their life, need a base to be trained and to be empowered.

¹ Yueh Hao Wang, “The Crisis and Turning point after the secret has been revealed” in Yia Chin Hsui, (ed.), *Remember the Moon has Survived* (Taipei, Taiwan: GOH, 1998), pp. 96-100, p. 100. The author is now the chairperson of the department of the development at GOH.

Such a base is a halfway home, a place for them to bridge the gap between the normal social life of an ordinary girl and life in a brothel as a prostitute.

The journey toward recovery is long and difficult for the girl prostitutes. In this section we are going to explore the reasons why. There are many issues the girl prostitutes need to deal with along the road to recovery. From our literature survey (III-2) we also found that this was an area that many of the studies we had surveyed under this issue had not touched or had not given an in-depth or satisfying exploration.

Garden of Hope has been working with girl prostitutes since their establishment in 1988. They have gone further than rescuing the girls from their life of prostitution, as explored in the previous chapter. Rather, GOH has helped the rescued girl prostitutes to prepare to go a second mile in their life journey for years. So in this section, from our field interviews with GOH, we are going to explore how GOH, as pastoral care provider, takes care of the rescued girls, how they accompany the girl prostitutes step by step toward their spiritual, emotional, and psychological recovery and what would be the power issues involved in the processes. For instance, what power relationships exist between the care provider and the cared and what power issues between the care providers themselves?

Therefore the research questions we are going to explore in this chapter are:

- (1) How did the halfway home set up by Garden of Hope come to its being in history?
- (2) What are the purposes of the establishment of a halfway home?
- (3) What is it like for the girl prostitutes to live in a home like that?
- (4) What kind of programs does GOH design for the rehabilitation of the girls who live at the halfway home?
- (5) According to what principle does GOH design those programs?
- (6) With respect to the theme of our thesis, what kinds of power issues need to be dealt with for both the girls and the care providers? And
- (7) What kind of difficulties do the girls and the care provider need to go through in order to empower the girls to live independently, namely, to have the subjective control over themselves (ref. II-4)?

For the above research questions we shall find some answers along the way we explore in this section.

Next we examine first why there is a need for the establishment of a halfway home for the girl prostitutes and second how the girl prostitutes were hurt and why it is difficult for them to recover from the emotional scars they carry from their time as prostitutes.

IV-1. The Inadequacy of Government Treatment for the Girl Prostitutes

The government's way of treating the girl prostitutes, even after the amendment of the juvenile welfare law, Liang Wang did not see as much of an improvement for the caught girl prostitutes. She analyzed the following reasons for me in the interview:²

IV-1.1. Only Two Places for the Police or the Court to Send the Caught Girls to be Investigated, if not Back to their Guardians Right Away.

Liang Wang told me her personal experience where the girl prostitutes were sent once they were caught by police:

When the girl prostitutes were caught by the police, there were only two government facilities to accommodate the girls, if they were not sent back to their parents or the guardians. The two places are Kong Chh Woman Profession Training Centre and Yuan Lin Discipline Centre. The former is in the city of Taipei and is a closed training centre, closed to protect the inmates from being influenced or being taken away by outsiders. In this way, the girls has no contact with the outside, neither do they go to school for their obligatory formal education at primary school or junior high. So usually, unless they could not find the girls' parents, the judges of juvenile court would not sentence the girls to this place. The latter, Yuan Lin Discipline Centre, is located in a suburb and therefore has more space for the people who stay there to exercise, but it is very far away from the schools where the girls can have their schooling.³

² Wang Huei Liang Wang. Liang Wang learned the facts listed below from her voluntarily work as the counsellor and supervisor for the caught girl prostitutes at the woman profession training centre.

³ Wang Huei Liang Wang in interview. For the details how the two places function, see Wang Huei Liang Wang, (ed.), *Give Her a Piece of Land to Grow*. (English version). Grace Kuo & Hardinm C. Liu, (trans.), (Taipei, Taiwan: End Child Prostitution Association Taiwan, 1996), pp. 65-100.

IV-1.2. There is a Fault in the System of Letting Girl Prostitutes under Short Term Investigation and Girls in Long Term Rehabilitation Stay at the Same Place to be Trained.

After the amendment of the regulations all the girl prostitutes, once caught by the police, need to be observed for a short period of time. Some girls stayed for a short period of time if, after observation, they were found to be voluntary workers in sexual transactions; they would be sent back to their parents or guardians for admonition or discipline as we have explored in Ch. III. Only those girls who were found to be unsuitable to be sent back to their parents stayed and were placed in long term accommodation. Therefore, the government run centres of rehabilitation always have two types of girl prostitutes staying there, short term and long term. Liang Wang said:

“Usually the period for the process of observation was two months. After observation, if the girls were sentenced as the voluntary type, they had to be sent back to their parents again. That meant that they only needed to stay at the centre for two months and then they could leave that seemingly confined place. On the other hand, those girls who were forced into prostitution needed to stay there for a longer period ‘to be protected by the government’. These long term inmates constantly had to see the short term girls leave the centre and this was not good for the stability of their mood while they continued staying in an enclosed place and were unable to get out. They felt they were prisoners to be confined in the jail, not to be freed. Somehow they felt they should confess that they worked voluntarily so that they could get out of there and be free soon.”⁴

⁴ Wang Huei Liang Wang in interview. For further discussion of the GOH solution to this, see section IV-3.1.2 to

IV-1.3. The Faults of the Privately Run Halfway Home in the Past

The Taiwanese government have seen the faults of the training centres as described above. They were very willing to let privately run institutions continue the work of rehabilitating the girls. But such a private institution was an open system for the girls. If the previous supervision was not done properly for the girls once they came to an open system of rehabilitation, the girls would run away from it rather than stay there.

The previous supervision work at the women's rehabilitation centre has not been done properly; the girls have not been really 'rehabilitated' in the two or three months of staying there. Once they come to an open system of training, they will probably run away to go back to their original lifestyles, unless these girl prostitutes have very strong personal wills to discipline themselves. Therefore, before the girl prostitutes could be sent to an open system of privately run halfway homes, there should be a better set up halfway home. 'Better set up' in a way that combined the functions of closed and open systems. Closed enough for the girls to be supervised and disciplined; open enough for them to be able to go to school, work and some social and cultural activities.⁵

IV-1.4. No Suitable Educational System to Help the Girl Prostitutes

Liang Wang continued stating:

"For whatever reasons the girls became prostitutes, they were still at the age of compulsory education.⁶ What these girls needed in fact was education; but there was no suitable school system for them, because they had been away from schooling for a long time. Even when they were allowed to go back to the school they would

⁵ Wang Huei Liang Wang in interview.

⁶ The compulsive education for Taiwanese is up to the graduation from junior high school (age of 18), equivalent to the ninth grade according in American education system.

not be able to catch up with the other students, and they would very probably run away from school again because of the frustration they encountered in education.”⁷

Out of the above observation from the experience of working with girl prostitutes, Liang had a dream, a dream that there could be a place for these girls, which had an open system so that the girls who stayed there could feel at home and go to school as well. She wished that there could be a place for the girl prostitutes that could provide some basic compulsory educational programs but focused more on “the transformation of personality characters” for the girls.⁸ This was how the first vision of the establishment of Garden of Hope came into being. We will have an in-depth exploration after we examine next how the girl prostitutes were hurt.

⁷ Wang Huei Liang Wang in interview.

⁸ Liang Wang, “Juvenile Welfare Law and the Girl Prostitutes’ Protection and Supervision”, in GOH, (ed.), *Facets of Prevention and Treatment of the Girls Prostitutes in Taiwan*, pp. 92-94, p. 94; also see in the same book, Chin Min Chou, “Why do the Girl Prostitutes Resume their Old Work?”, p. 95. Chou is a Catholic nun. What Liang means here is to rehabilitate the girl not to resume their old works from the perspective of their personal characters.

IV-2. How the Young Prostitutes were Hurt

How are the girls hurt by being prostitutes before they reach adulthood? What kind of life do they need to go through as a prostitute? Su Mei Chern wrote a poem to give a general portrayal of a sold prostituted girl's life:

In the very civilized Taiwan
 There exists a new, miserable slave system
 Mountain Girl Prostitutes slave system
 They have been thrown into that burning hell
 Imprisoned in the cell basement to be trampled, no difference of
 daytime or night, neither month nor day,
 No holiday, 30 to 40 customers everyday,
 They are struggling with hysteritis, peritonitis and all kinds of
 venereal diseases,
 The existence of the girl prostitute slave system
 Is a shame of Taiwanese, the severest charge
 The most unforgivable crime.⁹

The above poem is based on the true stories interviewed from the sold girls. So they are not far away from the fact. The sold girls working in the commercial sexual industry were guarded and the freedom of contact with the outside world strictly limited. But there are also some other girl prostitutes whose lives are different from Chern's description. Why is there such a difference? The difference rests upon the reasons that they come to the field of commercial sexual transactions. We will have a further discussion in the later part of this chapter.

If the girl prostitutes' life is as described by Chern, what hurts would they suffered? According to Wen-Huei Hung, the consultant of the counsellors of GOH, living as a prostitute can cause physical and emotional damages to a young girl. It makes them delusional about their future, and it places them at high risk of being infected by venereal diseases. We shall next explore them one by one.

⁹ Su Mei Chern, "The Girl Prostitute Slaves' Crying to Heaven: the Taiwan Girl Prostitutes' Blood and Tear Testimony" in GOH, (ed.), *Facets of Prevention and Treatment of the Girl Prostitutes in Taiwan*, pp. 112-129, p.112.

IV-2.1.Prostitution Causes Serious Physical and Emotional Damage

The girl prostitutes if doing commercial sexual transactions very long, they will be hurt greatly in their physics and psychology. Hung stated in interview that,

Girls engaging in commercial sexual transactions at their age will have serious physical and psychological damage. They are hurt before they are maturely developed, both physically and psychologically.¹⁰

She continued to point out the possible symptoms of the girls' hurts:

The symptoms of the girl prostitutes' emotional hurt were often first suppressed but came out later in the processes of their growth when they were not afraid to express their feelings. For example, they came out after getting married, and there the husband also suffers.

One of woman I interviewed through the introducing of GOH shared with me that

In the beginning of our marriage, I did not feel very comfortable to make love with my husband. Those images from the past often came back to me and I felt myself is very dirty...¹¹

Also, one case from the archive of GOH described her marriage life:

Before, if my husband came to me at midnight, I was often very scared. When we were making love, I must open the eye to see with whom I am making love.¹²

¹⁰ Wen Huei Hung in interview.

¹¹ One client of GOH in interview.

¹² Get Permission from GOH to translate from Yia Chin Hsui, (ed.), *Remember the Moon has Survived*, p. 136.

Some girls have radical reactions in expressing their frustrations or angers. One house mother describes:

...One girl jumped from a high floor of the building to break her own wrist because she did not know how she could express her anguish other than through self-harm. Another case was that a girl took off a white mouse's head while she was in a rage.¹³

IV-2.2. Prostitution Results in a Narrow Lifestyle

If a girl enters into this way of life at a young age, her life experience will become narrower, too. The less contact a girl has with the outside world, the more panic she will get if she has to change her lifestyle later on. In some cases somehow they feel that the life they have as a prostitute was not too bad since they can make a lot of money. As a result, she will continue to live this way. Below is one girl's self description recorded in the GOH's archive collection:

I do not want to cheat aunties (the social workers of GOH) by giving them ambitious vision for the future. I still feel like going back to that brothel to know whether the life there was as good as I perceived before...I did go back to do it for half a year...before I always think I owed people who provide me the 'cases' so that I can make money there. But the aunties of GOH tell me that that is not the case, it is the brothel that makes money by using us as the objects of sexual transactions. Later I re-think about it and re-see it. Everything is different from what I perceived before. Therefore I decide to leave.¹⁴

Hung also mentioned that

For example, the lifestyle of some child prostitutes that I am counselling consists of: sleeping until noontime, eating at irregular hours, going to beauty salons for hairdo, putting make-up on, spending time with 'customers', going out with boyfriends (people

¹³ House mother of halfway home, Mother Li, get permission from GOH to translate from Yu Fang Laing, "She Found Africa in Taiwan", Min Chin Chan and Su Fang Chuang, (eds.), *The Beautiful World of the Garden of Hope*, pp. 152-157, p. 155.

¹⁴ Get permission from GOH to translate from their archive collection, Yu Fang Liang, "The Story of Woa Woa" in Yia Chin Hsui, (ed.), *Remember the Moon has Survived*, pp. 102-114, p. 112-113.

of casual contact or body guards) or with girlfriends (other prostitutes or girlfriends from work) to MTVs, KTVs¹⁵, pubs, or dance halls and participating in thrill-seeking outdoor activities like motorcycle racing, smoking cigarettes, drinking wine, getting involved in sexual activities. They do not develop basic living skills (e.g., knowledge of bank accounts, starting a business, etc.).¹⁶

Sister Rei Mei, house mother at a halfway home, also asserted that the girls who had been hurt in their sexuality often took the initiative in their relationship with boys.

Do you know that no matter how much we love them, five minutes talking with a boy on the bus it would make these girls feel they were in love and want to follow the boy to the end of the world.¹⁷

According to Wen-Huei, if a teenager begins to be involved in this vocation at age 15 or 16, their unfamiliarity and anxiety towards the outside world becomes worse as time passes and the damage created will not be obliterated when they reach 20.

IV-2.3. Delusions about the Future

Most of the girls have been betrayed by the ones who are supposed to love them most dearly, so they have no trust in people who are around them. As a result of isolation from interaction with others, they do not have a bright expectation for themselves, either. Wang states:

When they feel no value for their own life, they will not believe that they have choice in their life and they will feel despair toward their

¹⁵ KTV is Karaoke, MTV is where you can watch a movie in a small room. The setting can be with small group or alone or two only. The different types of rooms are meant to meet the customer's different need.

¹⁶ Wen-Huei Hung, in interview. But for the full quotation get permission to translate from her article, "Counselling Child Prostitutes" in Wang-Huei Liang Wang, (ed.), *Give Her a Piece of Land to Grow*, 29-27, P. 33. In interview, I get permission to translate a full quotation from the author's published work so that the description can be more complete.

¹⁷ One house mother, in interview.

life. The goal of their life have become only for their survival in the society.¹⁸

The common fear of these girls is hidden in their marriage. Firstly, they are afraid that their husband may no longer love them once they discover what they did as a career in the past:

I also desire to have a love relationship and a marriage. But whenever I think about that intimate relationship I am very scared. I worry that people will know my impurity. I want to take a knife to kill myself...¹⁹

Secondly, they are afraid that the responsibility of raising a child is out of their capacity according to their imagination for the future task. They themselves have experienced the result of the incompetence of irresponsible parents, so they are very afraid that they will fulfil the saying; "like parents, like daughters". As one of the girls, who is only 18 but already had three abortions, shared her inner fear,

If I do give birth to my babies, perhaps I won't become what I am now. But in fact I also have thought about that when I was taking drugs. If I do have baby, how about if they are infected, too, or if they are retarded?²⁰

IV-2.4. High Probability of Contracting Venereal Disease or Becoming Addicted to Drugs

According to Hung, when young people become addicted to drugs, pimps who offer drugs to them can control them easily. In addition, when these girls are in contact with

¹⁸ Yueh Hao Wang, "The Little Tree's Wounded Experiences and Healing Processes", in Yia Chin Hsui, (ed.), *Remember the Moon Has Survived*, pp. 15-20, p. 18. (Get permission in interview to translate) "Little Tree" is the anonymous name for a girl.

¹⁹ Shared by a counsellor's description of a girl, full record is in "Chu Yu's Monologue" in Yia Chin Hsui, (ed.), *Remember the Moon Has Survived* p. 151. Get permission to translate.

²⁰ Chia Chia, "The Rose with Thorn". Get permission from the GOH to translate from their archive records in Yia Chin Hsui, (ed.), *The Summer of Fong Chhan Ger* (Taipei: GOH, 2002), pp. 97-109, p. 105.

various men, the chances of their contracting venereal diseases are also greater.²¹ Below is a house mother's statement:

When a girl comes to live in the house the first thing that we will need to do is to take her to see a doctor to discover whether she has infected by any kinds of disease...And very often we do find they are in fact infected....²²

According to a girl's description, after a period of being in the business of commercial sexual transaction, she started to have drugs and that habit "eats" up almost all her earnings from the sexual transaction:

When I was sixteen, I was pregnant. I dared not go home, can only stay at my boy friend's friend's place. After three months my boy friend borrowed money from his friend to take me for an abortion. Not long after that he was called to serve at army.²³ Then I need to work as a waitress for my own living. One guy, Li, asked me to be his girl friend. I did not want to change boy friend. But one day, Li gave me amphetamine to smoke.²⁴ Out of curiosity, I finally gave it a try. When I woke up, I found that I already had sexual intercourse with Li. I then became his woman and I start to use drug.

One day I was out of money but I needed the drug. At Li's working place I met one of his girl friend who worked at a Giouchia.²⁵ Li asks me to work as that woman did. To work at Giouchia, I can have monthly income of about 120, 000NT,²⁶ but I did not save any

²¹ Wen-Huei Hung, "Counselling Child Prostitutes" in Wang-Huei Liang Wang, (ed.), *Give Her a Piece of Land to Grow*, pp. 29-27, p. 33 In interview, I get permission to quote from the author's published work so that the description can be more complete.

²² A house mother's description.

²³ In Taiwan every man after 18 years old has obligation to serve at army for the country. The period of service can be as long as three years.

²⁴ A drug that stimulates the human nerve system.

²⁵ The function of a Giouchia in Taiwan is a combination of restaurant and a bar where people can have banquet and woman to accompany during the meal. Very often after meal, the customers can pay more money to ask the accompanying woman to spend the night with them.

²⁶ Around 2000 sterling pounds.

money. They all run out for the drug... Using drug has robbed me of any sense of security. I often attempted suicide... ²⁷

In the above section we have recorded many stories of the girl prostitutes' past life experiences. They have been hurt in many aspects of their life. To help them overcome the destroying power that resulted from their past wounds and to walk with them toward a holistic healing by training them to live as a normal girl in Taiwan society are the tasks that GOH take for themselves. GOH continue their works of helping the girl prostitutes in the residential halfway home they establish for them. They hope that by walking with these girls in their long journey toward recovery, these girls can overcome their past wounds. As one of the GOH's counsellors commented for one of her clients' recovering journey:

Tsai Yung is re-establishing a life of her own. Even though the past wounds will still appear once for a while in Tsai Yung's future, she has recognized that our real life is just like the way people look at the moon. Moon often has 'shortcomings' in its appearance, but in fact the moon is always full in its reality.²⁸

²⁷ Hsiao Jong, "The Story of Hsiao Jong" in Yia Chin Hsui, (ed.), *Remember the Moon has Survived*, pp. 32-34, get permission from GOH to translate.

²⁸ This counsellor is now the executive of the department of development. Get permission in interview to have full quotation from her article, Yueh Hao Wang, "The Fear and Rebirth that a Marriage Brings to Tsai Yung" in Yia Chin Hsui, (ed.), *Remember the Moon Has Survived*, pp. 135-139, p. 139.

IV-3. Analytical Assessment: The Pastoral Care Provider's Caring Activities – A Resistance to the Powers that Trapped the Girl Prostitutes through the Care in a Halfway home

This section explores how GOH helps the girl prostitutes to resist the powers that trapped them. We have explored in chapter III how GOH has helped them to resist the powers of governmental inadequacy regarding the treatment of girl prostitutes, prevailing ideologies in the society of Taiwan that make them objects for men's sexual satisfaction, and their subjective perceptions that kept them being a prostitute. In this section we will continue to explore how GOH helps the girls under its care to deal with issues of power so that they can resume ordinary life instead of prostitution. These issues of power include self-discipline regarding changing habits in daily life, tuning the self into the mode of life appropriate for school or paid jobs, dealing with conflict with institutions and personnel such as schools, and teachers that provide discipline for these girls.

IV-3.1. GOH Provides the Power of Resistance against the Inadequate Government Facilities -- The Original Vision of the Halfway Home

In chapter II we have explored theories of power regarding power of resistance. For every power, there can be power of resistance, even though that power of resistance may not come from people who were oppressed or dominated. In chapter III we discussed how the Taiwanese government in its use of power of authority has inadequate treatment for the girl prostitutes in that there was no suitable rehabilitation centre for them. Furthermore some of the girl prostitutes' parents have also abused their power by objectifying their own daughters and selling them to the brothel as prostitutes so that these girls could not go home, either, after they were rescued out of the brothel. Therefore, the fault of the government regarding the treatment of the girl prostitutes lay not so much in that the Taiwanese government tried to disguise their real intentions of seeking self-interest by any sort of techniques such as ideologies (ref. II-2 and 3). Rather, the fault in their treatment of the girl prostitutes were in their ignorance of the real situation that those girls faced, so that they were blamed for not making an effort to improve the treatment of the girl prostitutes.

In response to such a government weakness, GOH's initiative of pastoral caring activity was to provide a power of resistance to resist these two kinds of abused power. Golman, an American missionary, one of the founders of Garden of Hope, proposed what she envisioned as a suitable home for the girl prostitutes, a halfway home. Her vision has been developed by the later staff of Garden of Hope to establish a halfway home for the girl prostitutes. The works done through the provision of accommodation along with some other programs for the girls in the halfway home have become a power to resist the Taiwanese government's inadequacy in treating the girl prostitutes and misused parental guardian power. We shall explore this below (IV-3.1.1 to IV-3.1.3.).

IV-3.1.1. The original vision for the establishment of the institution of Garden of Hope

The vision of the "Halfway home" means a privately run place for the girl prostitutes to stay and accept protection by the institution.²⁹ Angie Golman, one of the main initiators of GOH, shared in an article how she, after having some ministries at the Government Rehabilitation Centre for teenage girls arrested for prostitution, began to have a vision for the establishment of Halfway home for the girl prostitutes:

As I cried out to God to do something, to provide a way out for these precious girls – to provide lasting help with lasting results – He began to show me what He wanted me to do....

Gradually,...the Lord began to bring my mind to focus on a plan for these girls: a halfway home to bridge the gap between the rehabilitation Centre; a step further in providing a concentrated effort toward physical, emotional, psychological and spiritual stability, a place of hope, shelter, safety, love and security; a place where each girl could grow and develop a stable personality...³⁰

²⁹ But GOH can apply for financial aid when we cases are entrusted to them by the government.

³⁰ Angie Golman, "Give Her a Piece of Land to Grow", in Wang-Huei Liang Wang, (ed.), *Give Her a Piece of Land to Grow*, pp.9-14, p. 10. The author is one of the founders of the Garden of Hope foundation, currently stays in America.

Therefore the original vision for the establishment of a halfway home was, instead of just letting the girl prostitutes go their own way once they were out of the pimp's hand or freed from the juvenile court, to go "a step further" to accompany the girl prostitutes toward a fuller recovery and empowerment such as having a stable emotional, psychological and spiritual growth as Golman described.

This process of recovery and empowerment will not happen overnight. It will be a life-long process and involve a complexity of various works. What Golman expected was that, while living in the halfway home, the girl prostitutes would learn and begin to implement what they were deprived of in their past. The halfway home in many ways remedies the faults of the governmental run rehabilitation centre that we mentioned in chapter III. One of the remedies the halfway home made is as what the previous dean of the halfway home shared:

The strong point of having three types of duration for the girls' accommodation is that the girls under short term observation and the long term inmates can be accommodated at different houses. In this arrangement they won't interfere with the stability of each other's emotions, whether staying or leaving the halfway home.³¹

IV-3.1.2. Three types of Halfway home

Golman recognises that the recovery of the girl prostitutes is a long term processes, therefore her ideal halfway home needs to have three types differentiated by the length of the stay. For the girl prostitutes who came to the GOH, there are three types of duration of accommodation, and the goals of supervision of GOH for each stage are different; the differences are as shown in the diagram below:

³¹ The previous dean of the halfway home of GOH in interview.

Types of halfway home and goals of supervision in each stage³²

Type of halfway home (the dormitory)	Length of accommodation	Goal of supervision
1. short term	Three months, can be extended to six months	Provide emergent shelter and basic needs for living; help to adjust the life at the dorm; to arrange schooling or work in the new life at GOH; introduce concepts of Christian belief; decrease harmful behaviour toward themselves.
2. Long term	Six months to two years	Help to adjust to school or working life; the self discipline of daily life; to build a positive attitude toward life itself; to manage issues of money; personal finance; to have connection with resources in society.
3. Ai Chhi Dorm	Up to age of 18 or 20	To prepare the client to live independently; cultivate the ability of self control including managing their own life, emotional stability, discipline in work and problem solving.

³² Information provider: a social worker of GOH. For the more detailed description of halfway home, please see GOH, "The Three Stages of Growth" in Min Chin Chan and Su Fang Chuang, (eds.), *The Beautiful World of Garden of Hope*, p.25-28.

The above model of three stages of accommodation recognizes the different needs of the clients at the different stages of their rehabilitations. The purposes of the three stages of accommodation are various. According to a social worker's explanation,

The functions of the halfway homes can be (1) emergent need of 24 hours protection to prevent them from any physical harm for themselves or the threat from the pimps, (2) healing past wounds, (3) learning how to live independently, and (4) finally leaving the care of the institution.³³

The social worker further explains how the girls can move from one stage to another.

The process of moving from one stage to another depends on how the girls adjust in each dorm and the evaluations of the workers of GOH for them. Among the three grades of the dorms, Ai Chhi House is the least restricted dormitory regarding the rules of living together. This is the kind of dorm in which the girls are like tenants who pay the rent and sign the contract with GOH for a term of half a year each time. It means that they can have their own room and key to freely enter the house. There they also share the living expenses with the other flatmates.³⁴

Therefore, while staying at Ai Chhi House the girls have more autonomy. The girls who are staying at the first two types of the dorm often make "staying at Ai Chhi House" as their goal. One girl in interview shared with me:

³³ The above social worker.

³⁴ The above social worker.

I know that they (house mothers and social workers) discipline us is for our goodness. But I still desire to live at Ai Chhi House. I hope few months later I can be evaluated as 'okay' to live there.³⁵

IV-3.1.3. The advantages of the arrangement of the three types of halfway home

Such an arrangement has overcome the inadequacy of government facilities in the past that make the girls staying long term, to be protected, live with the ones who stay only for a short term for observation. One of the social workers analysed for me:

First, the short and long term residents are separated in their living circumstances so that the long term residents won't be emotionally disturbed by the leaving of those who have stayed only a short term. Second, such an arrangement is an open system so that the long term staying girls can go to school. Hence it makes up the fault of the rehabilitation centre's being a closed system that does not allow the girls to go to school for their formal education.

Third, the girls, while living at the halfway home for a longer term under the supervision of the staff of GOH, can have the opportunity to learn how to control their own life and to gain their autonomous subjectivity as they follow the regulations of the house and move from one type of halfway home to another.³⁶

We shall have a more detailed examination of this in what follows. In a word, through the arrangement of the halfway home, GOH has provided the opportunity for the girl prostitutes to resist the inadequate use of government powers that made them return to the field of prostitution as discussed in section IV-1.

³⁵ Interview with a girl who stays at halfway home of the GOH.

³⁶ Previous executive of halfway home.

IV-3.2. GOH Provides the Power of Resistance against Insufficient Provision from the Girls' Parents – Practical Aspects of the Establishment of a Halfway Home

The girl prostitutes were supposed to be still living in society under the care of their parents. However, these girls did not only lack provision for their physical needs such as house, nutritious food and personal expenses: on the contrary, they needed, in many cases, to provide for their parents, because of the dysfunction of their parents' power. However, once the girl prostitutes were rescued out of a pimp's hands, no more depending on pimps for their living, but living in the halfway home, their physical needs such as housing, food, health insurance, living expenses and personal safety needed to be provided immediately. These are the immediate practical aspects of the running of a halfway home. With these provisions for the girls' physical needs – in particular a safe place to stay – it was then possible for these girls to resist the abused parental guardian power and the objectifying power of the pimp over them, and walk toward their holistic recovery.

We have mentioned in the previous section how one of the founders of GOH, Golman, envisioned the establishment of a halfway home. But from the original vision to actualizing it there were many practical issues to be considered. While GOH was still in the stage of preparation Golman listed the following specific needs for the actualization of having a halfway home to function for the girls and made this list of needs her prayer request to Christians in Taiwan:³⁷

- A suitable building;
- Qualified staff: We are planning to rely more on paid staff than volunteers. We plan to have one-full-time salaried house parent, two full-time paid counsellors, and one part time paid psychiatrist. We may use volunteers for special classes or groups where appropriate;
- Eight girls who really want to change their ways of thinking about themselves and their lifestyles.
- Protection and safety for the home, the girls, and the staff. The home will have

³⁷ My own point of view is that the following list has shown us the realistic perspectives that need to consider to start a mission regarding the girl prostitutes in any society, although the number of the girls may not be exactly the same.

to be unpublicized for security purposes.³⁸

Therefore, the physical building is the first priority for the establishment of a halfway home, a place for the girls' accommodation. The second are the full paid professional workers to work for the needs of the girls, then certainly there should be the rescued girl prostitutes to live in the house to be cared for, and some regulations for them to live together for the common good or in harmony. Finally, such a home needs to have privacy for the sake of protection and safety. After the efforts of the founders of GOH and the support from many people in the society, GOH established the first private institutional shelter in the country, Halfway home, in May of 1988. In the beginning, they only had one worker (a house mother), one desk, one rented flat. The landlord did not know, even after GOH had moved out from there, that her tenants were the girl prostitutes.³⁹

IV-3.3. GOH Provides the Power of Resistance to the Girls' Past Wounds – Main Factors Needed to Run a Halfway Home

What we examined in IV- 2 is how the girl prostitutes were hurt in their past. They had physical and emotional damages, their life styles had been narrowed down, they were already delusional about their future, and very probably they had contracted venereal disease or become addicted to drugs. These hurts would give rise to difficulties that prevented the girls from growing as a wholly developed person in their bodies, emotions and spirits, and therefore were also what GOH needed to help the girls to deal with in order to lead the girls toward their healing. In other words, the obstacles that blocked the way toward the girl prostitutes' recovery needed to be removed from the way. In this section we will discuss how GOH has organized all the possible resources to empower the girls to resist the hurts that were caused by all the powers in their various power relationships as explored in Ch. III.

³⁸ Golman quoted from Job 14: 7-9 to begin her description of the beginning of the establishment of the Garden of Hope foundation, "For there is hope for a tree, if it be cut down, that it will sprout again, and that its shoots will not cease. Though its root grows old in the earth, and its stump dies in the ground, yet at the scent of water it will bud and put forth branches like a young plant."

³⁹ Interview with Rev. San, the first chairperson of the board of trustee of GOH.

When the girl prostitutes live together in the halfway home, whether short term or longer term, they will need some well designed program to help them so that their recovery can have an enduring good result for their later life in society. In order to accomplish such a goal, besides providing the physical needs such as a house to stay for the nights and food to sustain physical strength, GOH also designed a whole set of treatments for the girl prostitutes living at the halfway home.⁴⁰

As the chaplain told me that:

The first thing for the girl living in the halfway home is to let the social workers take them to have a physical examination to make sure they did not contract any venereal disease. The other things the staff of GOH need to do include taking them to the school if they are at the age of compulsory formal education according to the educational regulations of the Taiwanese government, helping them to find a job if they studied at night school, and taking them to have some cultural exposure. Furthermore, GOH also provided these girls with opportunities to have sessions of individual and group counselling for their emotional and psychological recovery...⁴¹

In summary, according to the description of a GOH counsellor, in the original design for the programs of halfway home, there are six major areas of the programs that GOH regard as necessary for the girls' recovery. These are described below (IV-3.3.1 to IV-3.3.6):⁴²

⁴⁰ We need to be aware that, as we have mentioned previously, some of the girls only stayed for a short term for the observation and some could not sustain the regulation or the disciplined life and asked to leave, if their staying were not imperative. We will also have a discussion about these issues later in this chapter.

⁴¹ The Chaplain of the GOH in interview.

⁴² The information is from the executive of department of counselling of GOH.

IV-3.3.1. "A home that provides a warm and safe atmosphere, where each girl can experience the love of God in her life, and through His power, learn how to overcome her nightmare."

The supervisor of the counsellors says:

Usually when the social welfare department of Taiwanese government entrust the girls to GOH, their reminder for GOH is often 'to correct the girl's behaviour'. However, GOH's conviction is that the girls are not objects that can be divided but are holistic human beings. Most of those girls have been mistreated by others; they are not respected as a human being, their needs were not really satisfied by their families, they have already experienced disappointment from their close family members. Therefore GOH believe that only when these girls regain psychological and physical health and have been satisfied in their spiritual search can they possibly behave well and respect the value of themselves as an individual being.⁴³

IV-3.3.2. "Cultural exposure to show them alternative activities other than what they used to have"

Most of the girl prostitutes came from dysfunctional families. It means they have been deprived of many things in their family life that ordinary girls of their ages may enjoy. Deprivation can mean the lack of things in many perspectives such as adequate housing, education, literacy, opportunity of travelling, learning a musical instrument, etc. As Mann puts it in *The International Encyclopaedia of Sociology*,

The problem of deprivation is more implicit than that of poverty. The deprivation is not limited in the shortage of income but include any

⁴³ The concept was shared by the executive of counselling department of GOH. These points are in fact the principles that the counsellors of GOH hold in their counselling the girls. For more detailed explanation please see Min Chin Chan and Su Fang Chuang, (eds.), *The Beautiful World of GOH*, pp. 20-24.

inequalities in access to variety of social factors such as housing, education, employment and health. Studies have shown that deprivation is often concentrated in certain geographical area and in the families which have certain characteristics. Furthermore, it has a tendency to cluster, for instance, poor housing is often associated with poor health, poor education with unemployment, etc.⁴⁴

Mann's main point regarding deprivation is that very often deprivation in one factor may cause a series of deprivations in other factors. Therefore, if the girl prostitutes come from dysfunctional families, or poor families, then besides the poor geography of housing, atmosphere of family relationship, they will very probably have been deprived of many opportunities of exposure to cultural learning in their growing process, too. This explains why the GOH design programs for the girls in the way they do as one of house mother shared:

One of the GOH's ideas for the design of the activities for the girl prostitutes is to provide them opportunities to experience different cultural events such as going to concerts, the shows, movies, outing, picnic, church activities, etc. In providing those activities GOH hope that what the girls have been deprived of can be remedied, their point of view for their life can be broadened and value systems in their thinking can be modified toward a more positive direction.⁴⁵

IV-3.3.3. "Plain fun family living in a Christian home"

According to the explanation of the staff of GOH, "plain fun family living" means dealing with issues of personal responsibility, such as cleaning one's own room or taking turns to be responsible for providing the food for the home, and how to live with a limited income. These issues will be discussed, supervised and guided at the halfway home as in most ordinary families.

⁴⁴ "Deprivation" in Michael Mann, (ed.), in *The International Encyclopedia of Sociology*, p. 91.

⁴⁵ Interviewed with one of the house mothers.

These things may be easy for some of the teenagers who are used to living in an ordinary family life, but not so easy for the teenage girl prostitutes, since they do not have good models to train them to do these things, nor were they provided opportunities to do after they worked at brothel.⁴⁶

According to one of the house mothers, some of the girls came to the halfway home with very bad sanitary customs and she needed to train them how to do it step by step.

That girl does not even know how to cleanse herself in her monthly period. She often made herself a mess and we need to teach her how to cleanse herself.⁴⁷

Other than doing daily chores together or taking turns to do them, they also have activities in the house such as birthday celebrations as many ordinary families do. These family fun activities can also serve to transform the girls' subjective perception of "what a family life is supposed to be", since the subjective perception can be changed through the learning from the resources out of the self as we have explored in chapter II-3. The purpose of GOH for such a design is that hopefully, after these girls have experiences of a family life in the halfway home, when they have their own families later on, they will know what it is like to have an ordinary family life as the others do.⁴⁸

IV-3.3.4. "Individual counselling sessions led by trained counsellors or psychiatrists."

The conviction of GOH from the beginning of their establishment has been that they want to hire professionals to work with the girl prostitutes. This principle turns out to be one of the reasons for their successful functioning in the society of Taiwan and gives them credentials among the other non-governmental organizations in Taiwan. The value of individual counselling sessions for the girl prostitutes rest upon the fact

⁴⁶ One of the counsellors.

⁴⁷ One house mother in interview.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

that in those individual sessions they can reflect on their personal thoughts and hurts without being mocked, devalued or threatened by others. These girl prostitutes were hurt in many ways as we have examined in the beginning of this chapter (IV-2.1 to IV-2.4.). Not until these girls could be given time to reflect upon those wounds could they be really healed, according to one of their counsellors.⁴⁹ For such a function of individual counselling, GOH insists that every girl at the halfway home needs to schedule their time to be with their individual counsellors. The individual counselling sessions are also important in terms of the girls regaining their subjective voices to assert their own needs and not just to do things for their family. We will discuss this point further in section IV-3.4.

IV-3.3.5. "Group therapy activities"

Group therapy activities have almost equal value with the individual counselling sessions, according to a counsellor. The girl prostitutes' self images have been twisted during the time of being a prostitute. How to help them to regain a sound self image is one of the major tasks of GOH for the girls in the halfway home. Most of these girl prostitutes were still in their teens. For teenagers, peer group is very important in many perspectives. As Mann states in *The International Encyclopedia of Sociology*:

The peer group of adolescence has an important role in the process of their socialization, because in that period they have for the first time experience of being with people of single-aged members which is different from their previous hierarchical family relationship... Young people can learn how to interact with people outside of their own family... These experiences can be helpful for their moving toward a stable family relationship of their own. Such peer groups have characteristic of preserving a system of norms to sanction against the deviant from the group.⁵⁰

The peer group is very important for young people in their growing into mature adults. However, the girl prostitutes in their life of prostitution have been

⁴⁹ Interview with a counsellor of the girls.

⁵⁰ Mann, "Peer Group" in *The International Encyclopaedia of Sociology* (New York: continuum, 1984), p. 283.

deprived of opportunities of interaction with other “ordinary” peers. But since living in the halfway home, the other girls in the house in a sense have become their peers. In the group therapy time GOH set for them, they can discuss the problems happening in the home, communicate and interact with each other, correct each other’s point of view through the “mirroring back” of others and even sanction the deviant from the norm they set in the house.⁵¹

IV-3.3.6. “Learning basic skills to make their own living in society.”

“Halfway home”, by its name, is only “a place to rest in the middle of their life journey”. The longest length for the girls to stay at the halfway home is until they reach the age of 18 or exceptionally age 20. Ms. Yueh stated their eventual goal for training the girls in the halfway home is sending them into the society to live independently,

Our eventual goal is that the girls, after staying at halfway home, can make their own living without being a prostitute. Therefore, we endeavoured to help them finish their formal education at school and find jobs for them afterward. For some of the girls who don't go to school any more, we find opportunities for them to be trained to do work that is suitable for their capacities, so that after they leave the house they have no problem in making money for their own living.⁵²

“To teach them how to fish is better than to give them fish” is one of the mottoes that GOH have for their works for the girl prostitutes, as the executive of the department of development commented.⁵³

According to the executive of the department of development, the above six perspectives (the warm and loving home, fun family activities, cultural exposure, individual and group counselling, and learning skills to prepare for their own living in the society) are crucial for the girl prostitutes to recover from their past wounds. Her

⁵¹ One of the Counsellors of the GOH shared in interview.

⁵² The executive of the department of the development of GOH.

⁵³ Ibid.

opinion is that through the provision of GOH in these six categories, the girl prostitutes can hopefully to be empowered as they continue living in the halfway home, to resist the destructive power that their past wounds might bring to them.

IV-3.4. GOH Helps to Resist the Power of Misleading Subjective Perceptions

One of the power themes explored in chapter II-3 is that the subjectivity mainly is not inborn but can be imposed from outside of the self's perception. Some of the voluntarily girl prostitutes' subjective perceptions might be influenced by their peer group through the prevailing Taiwanese young people's culture such as the ideology implicit in the slogan "As long as I like it, why not." Therefore they worked for "supportive social diplomacy", to gain money for their own use and did not feel much wrong about it.⁵⁴

On the other hand, most of these girl prostitutes were betrayed by their parents. They might have lost trust in people and they thought that no one in the world would love them. Some others, after being a prostitute, might deem themselves as having no hope for a bright future at all. They dare not to imagine living as an ordinary woman again. For all these misled self perceptions, GOH needs to work to rebuild a more sound subjective perception and a more positive self image for them.

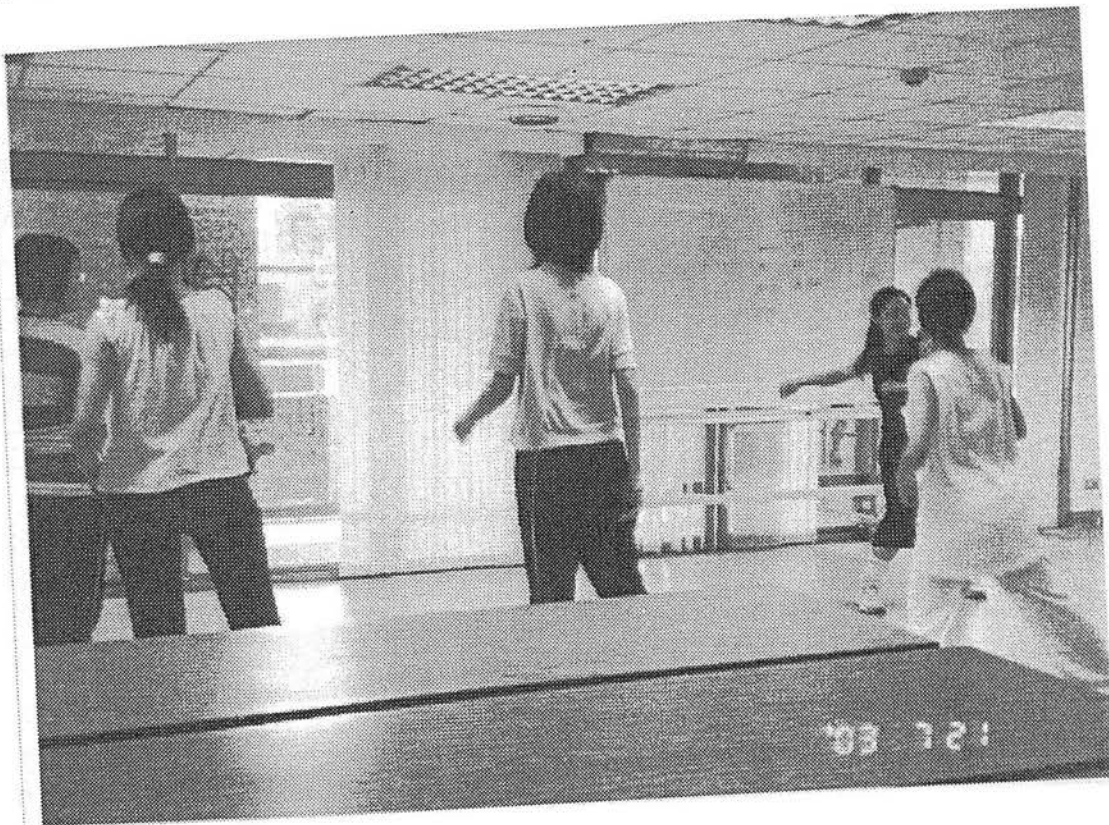
The goals of the girl prostitutes' recovery from their mislead self subjection, according to Wen Huei Hung, were:

- to know they are loved,
- no more to give up the self,
- no more to think of the self as a deviant in the society,
- to regain trust in people,
- to practice discernment in daily life,
- to give the opportunity of subjective decision making, and
- to keep hope for the self's future⁵⁵

⁵⁴ This is a term to describe voluntary sexual intercourse in exchange for money in the culture of the young generation in Taiwan as we discussed in section II-4.4.

⁵⁵ Wen Huei Hung, in interview. Here we put in bullet form for the purpose of a better understanding for these issues of the GOH's concerns for the girls.

To regain a positive self image and sound subjective perception to reach the above goals will not be a one day process and this requires professional help through individual and group counselling along other activities such as cultural exposure. It is why GOH in the very beginning of their establishment has insisted that they would need professional counsellors to provide individual counselling and group counselling for the girls. Furthermore, GOH has also designed for these girls programs of spiritual search and provided spiritual guidance, family fun activities and cultural exposure as we mentioned in the previous section. In doing so, GOH hopes that these girls can regain their subjective capacity of decision making in the future for their own life pattern and not be so much influenced by the power of the prevailing corruptive ideologies or any other sources of powers in society. The picture below was taken in one of the GOH's training program for the girls, "dancing class".⁵⁶



⁵⁶ Picture provided by a house mother.

IV-3.5. GOH Help to Re-connect the Resources in the Society (to Resist the Factor of the Narrowed Down Life Style)

This relates to the practical works that need to be done by the Garden of Hope for the girls who live in the halfway home. Things such as applying for financial aid from the social welfare department of the Taiwan government for the girls' living expenses, maintaining constant communication with the school of the girls, receiving the donations from the public for the girls, all need to be done by the staff of GOH, in particular the social workers concerned. These donations include not only money, but also various supplies such as tickets for cultural events or performances. Furthermore, some girls need to report to the police or the court on a regular basis and their social workers need to take them to the government authority concerned, too.

IV-3.5. GOH Helps with the Girls' Self Discipline and Dealing with the Conflict in the Halfway Home

IV-3.5.1. The regulations for staying at the halfway home

The regulations of the halfway home are the boundaries for discipline and punishment in a power relationship. When the regulations are not followed, conflict might happen. The deviant girls, the ones who do not follow the regulations of the halfway home, might be given punishments. Punishment is a kind of art as we have explored in Ch. II-5. Whether and how to punish a deviant girl sometimes depends on subjective interpretation and the interpretation often has individual differences. These differences are often causes of conflict between the social workers and the house mother, both of whom are the first line workers with the girls. Therefore, the conflicts could be between the workers of GOH and the girls, among the girls themselves and between the social workers and the house mothers. However what kind of regulation should GOH set for the girl prostitutes so that they could have safety and harmony to live at the halfway home, not feel too much confined and yet be disciplined? In this section we are going to examine in more detail exactly what regulations GOH set for the girls who stay at their halfway home. The regulations of the halfway home are as follows:⁵⁷

⁵⁷ The following information is provided by a house mother.

● The privacy of the halfway home

Every girl has come with her own story and past hurting experiences to stay at the Halfway home of GOH. Some were searched by the pimps, and the others may be hurt by their family members. In order to let every one who stays live in security from beginning the rules need to be clearly set for them: (1) not to tell anyone the telephone number and address of the house; (2) not to introduce to each other their friends, in particular their boy friends; (3) when making appointments with friends, to meet away from the house, and (4) when coming home with friends, to part with them a distance away from the house, etc. Even the girls' true identities are not allowed to be exposed in public. When fundraising through public mass media, the girls' pictures are not allowed to be taken from the front so that their faces won't be shown in the public. Their faces could not be seen either on TV or in the press.⁵⁸ The picture below was taken at one of their training sections, "Money Management".



⁵⁸ When I was with the girls for the interview, and I wanted to take pictures for them, I was reminded such a rule, too. Therefore I needed to avoid showing the girls' faces when I took their pictures at their activity time.

What may happen in the girls' life when they do try to follow the regulation of privacy of the house? A social worker described an episode happened in the past while one of their girls tried to follow their regulation of privacy:

There is a case that the girl in trying to hide the fact that she stays at the halfway home of GOH, when was asked why every time the signature in her school correspondent book for parents is every day different. Her answer is 'it is my aunty (or my mother's sister...) comes to visit us...' she cannot let her teacher knows that she lives in the halfway home of GOH and the signatures are signed by social workers and house mothers...Not until the social worker contacts the teacher, such a "secret hiding effort" was not discovered.⁵⁹

- No personal freedom in the first month of adaptation

This principle is to minimize the difficulties the girls may have in the first stage of staying. From their working experiences GOH knows that the girls who have just arrived at the halfway home may not be used to all the restrictions and will feel like running away from it. Therefore it is better to have activities always in groups so that they can watch out for each other with the supervision of the workers of GOH. It means that other than going to their own school, any outing they need to go on as a group and any telephone contact needs to go through the workers in the first month of their staying at the halfway home.

- Regulations regarding the arrangements for new lives

We have mentioned previously that one of the characteristics of the halfway home that is different from previous government run rehabilitation centres is that the halfway home is an open system and the girl prostitutes, while staying at the halfway home, can go to school, if they need to. Therefore, one of the major tasks of the social workers of

⁵⁹ Resource provider, a social worker. For this girl's story please see GOH, (ed.), "Lida, The One Who Makes Your Heart Hanging on Her", in Min Chin Chan and Su Fang Chuang, (eds.), *The Beautiful World of the Garden of Hope*, pp. 145-151, p. 147. In the halfway home, the house mothers and social workers take turn to stay overnight with the girls. Therefore, whichever staff stay with the girls in the halfway home for the night will need to sign for the girls on their school correspondent notebooks.

GOH is to arrange for the girls to go to school, if the girls are at the age of compulsory education.

If the girl is still within the age range of primary obligatory education (before 15 years old, according to the educational policy of the Taiwanese government), GOH will arrange for her a suitable primary school. If the girl has completed her primary education, and is willing to continue in higher education, GOH will help her to find a suitable school to study at, too. If the girl does not want to continue her formal education, GOH will encourage her to learn the skills needed for independence and for her own livelihood or help her finding a job. By such arrangements, it means that in the halfway home there may be a period in which during the daytime some girls go to school while some girls stay at home to learn these skills. The house mothers need to design learning programs for the girls who stay at home.⁶⁰

- The rules for going out without workers' company

After the first rigid month of living in the halfway home, if the evaluation is positive, the girl can apply to go out alone. During weekdays, the girls can, with the agreement of the workers, go outside to do some chores or to make personal phone calls. On weekends, they can also go out to be with their friends, but they need to let the workers know what it is for, the time, the place and the need to come home before the agreed time. If the outing needs more than three hours, then the girl needs to apply beforehand and needs to have a statement of permission from her parents or relatives.

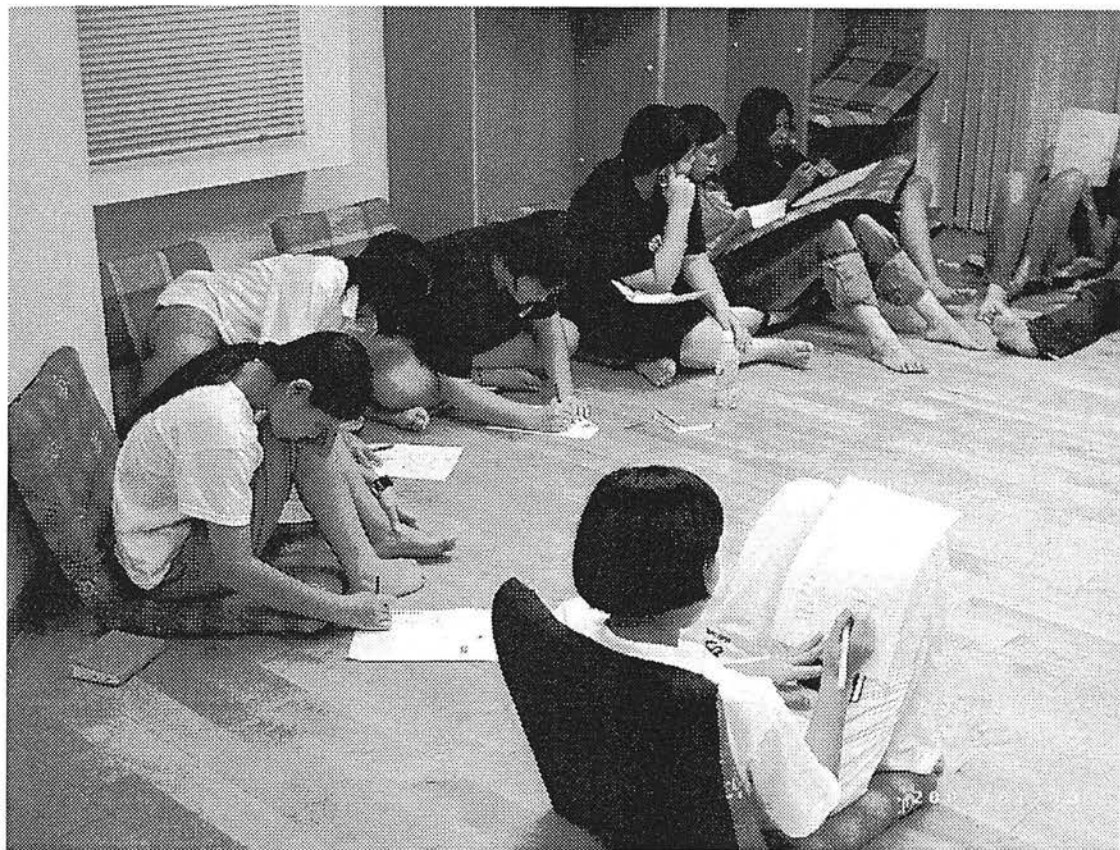
- Compulsory participation in group activities

There are various activities GOH designs for the girls for the purposes of helping them to recover from their past wounds to rehabilitate them for a new life. These activities are required for all the girls who live at the house to attend. According to chaplain of GOH, these activities are:

⁶⁰ Shared by one of the house mother.

... We provide the following activities for them (1) Bible reading every night, (2) Saturday fellowship time, (3) time for personal reflection and discussions of questions regarding life, (4) family meeting time to discuss issues in their life, and (5) other special activities such as celebrations or outings and special outing programs...⁶¹

For instance, while working with GOH, I participated in a series of their training programs for group activities for the girls. That training is about how to manage the money they have. The program leader that time was the chaplain of GOH. She told me that the purpose of that activity is to let the girls reflect on how they tend to use money and what value they place on things that they are willing to buy.⁶² The picture below was taken while they were counting their imaginary money:



⁶¹ According to the chaplain, there are many other special opportunities of outing or concert tickets that are offered by the related companies or organizations particularly for these girls. So very often, even the workers of GOH “envy” these girls can have the opportunities to attend those programs.

⁶² Shared by the chaplain of GOH.

IV-3.5.2. How the workers of GOH discipline the girls: regulation, discipline and punishment

In the above we have stated what regulations GOH sets for the girls to follow for the safety and self discipline. Nevertheless, as we have mentioned previously these girls have lived a life of prostitution for a period of time. Their life style has been very different from ordinary girls of their age. Some habits of life have become very hard to correct by and yet these habits may place a risk in the harmony of the halfway home. One of the major things that GOH needs to do is therefore to help the girls to resist their habitual tendency of their self, and the existence of those regulations is to help the girls toward this end.

For those who fail to obey the rules, there needs to be ways for punishment so that the deviant conform to the norms of behaviour as we have discussed in one of the themes of powers (II-5). The punishment GOH set for the deviants of the house are as the following:

IV-3.5.3. The deviant and the punishment

For the girls who do not follow the regulations the workers of the House are authorized to use some disciplinary methods as punishments. Punishments are needed for disciplinary purposes, and yet they must not become ways of domination or coercion. According to one of the house mothers, the punishments GOH have for the girls who do not obey the regulations of the home are.⁶³

- We may restrict their use of the facilities in the house such as computer or television. For example, if a girl does not follow the regulations one day, she may not be allowed to watch the television or use the computer that day, depending on the seriousness of her deviant behaviour.
- Another way is to limit the amount of pocket money they can use. These girls have some pocket money from their work, government subsidies or their

⁶³ We put her description into bullet form for a list of these regulations.

families,⁶⁴ but this money has to be deposited at the bank or post office and their account book kept for them by the workers.⁶⁵ Whenever the girls need money, they tell the workers in charge at the time and the workers can get the money from the bank for them. We need to keep an eye on how the girls use the money and help them to take good care of it. In this way, the workers also have some power to limit the amount of money the girls can use and hence it can become a way of discipline.

- It was also possible to ask the girls to leave. In the history of GOH's running of the halfway home, there have certainly been some cases of girls who could not follow the rules of the house and their not being able to follow the rules may damage the common good which was the purpose of setting a halfway home in the first place. In those cases we can only ask them to leave.⁶⁶

IV-3.6. GOH Helps the Girls to Deal with Conflicts in their Power Relationships

It is not too difficult to imagine that there are often times when conflict happens as these girl prostitutes, after living in the brothel, now live together in the halfway home. Regulations, discipline and punishments for the deviant are three major factors that cause conflicts in the life of the halfway home.

Some of the characteristics of the girl prostitutes who lived in the halfway home

When interviewed, the former executive of the halfway home at Taipei provided the following information about the characteristics of the girl prostitutes who have lived in the halfway home.⁶⁷

⁶⁴ Remember some girls were semi-voluntarily doing the commercial sexual transaction. Some of these girls came from middle class families and their families still give them some pocket money while they stay at halfway home of GOH.

⁶⁵ One of the functions of the post office in Taiwan is like the bank where people can deposit money.

⁶⁶ According a social worker in interview, there are also cases that the girls run away for few days without notifying GOH. Then GOH had to report them to the department of social welfare of the government.

⁶⁷ Here we also put her description into bullet form for the list of these characteristics.

- ...They tend to running away from the halfway home
- violent behaviour such as attacking others (therefore we often needs to deal with the conflict among the them)
- easily irritated
- tendency to destroy objects/things in anger
- stealing (one time we took the girls to Sunday service, after Sunday service, we found an emptied wallet was in the toilet...)
- often have tension in their relationship with the other girls in the halfway home
- often saying 'I don't know' in answering questions
- loss of temper
- responding to all requests with 'no' ... These symptoms are quite commonly seen in many of the girls who stay at halfway home....⁶⁸

The list of the characteristics of the girls who have lived in the halfway home, it is not too difficult to imagine conflict arising there. Such tendencies in the list as easily losing one's temper, irritation, violent behaviour toward others and stealing will cause conflict either between the house mothers and the girls or among the girls themselves. Even though these girls need to meet their counsellor on a regular basis so that they can gradually face their own real psychological and inner problems as listed above and be healed, yet, when these characteristics cause them to have conflicts with the other girls living in the halfway home, it is the social workers or house mother of GOH who have to deal with them. In Ch. II-5 we discussed that these conflicts were related to power issues. How the powerful deal with conflicts, according to what standards or ideologies rests upon how they use their power to resolve the problems.

The regulations of the halfway home are to be followed or obeyed for the common good of all the girls who live there. Therefore whoever fails to obey, there need to be means of punishment to discipline the non-conformist.⁶⁹ The punishments officially given by GOH in the halfway home are as listed in IV-3.5.3. However, how rigidly the regulations should be obeyed by the girls who live in the house and, when cases of disobedience do happen, how to actually carry out the punishment still depend on the decision of the individual care providers, the staff of GOH. Since there are individual differences in carrying out the regulations, girls can argue against the punishment given by the staff on duty. On those occasions, conflict does happen in the house

⁶⁸ The previous executive of the halfway home in Taipei.

between the deviant and the house mother or the social workers, the first line workers of GOH for the girls. We shall look closely at these conflicts between the girls and staff workers.

IV-3.6.1. The power relationship/conflict between the girls and the house mothers or the social workers

Conflicts do happen among the girls who live together and also between the workers of GOH and the girls. The conflict happening in the power relationship between the girls and the house mothers is in fact a struggle between the disciplinary authority and personal subjectivity. Furthermore, the girl prostitutes' social backgrounds are various. Some of them come from very complicated family backgrounds and therefore might not have very good habits of living in the halfway home or good manners in their communication with people. Some girls also have a tendency toward violence, for example, as a house mother describes, one time, a girl took a knife to threaten the house mother and scared all the other girls. There were also girls who had been fooling around with gangs and, while they stayed at the halfway home, used the same gang attitude to treat the other girls, namely, to speak in "dirty language", to dominate other girls to obey them, etc.⁷⁰

One of the girls living at the halfway home whom I interviewed, told me her conflicts with the workers, house mothers and social workers of GOH. Her conflicts with the social workers mainly come from the following reasons:

I do not like the workers calling at my place of work to check whether she goes to work on time or not. Neither do I like to have a counselling time, because I do not know what to say during the session....⁷¹

However the workers, such as their house mothers, counsellors, or the social workers who manage their activities outside the halfway home, have their complaints about Su, too. Things like:

⁶⁹ Regarding the discipline and punishment for the non-conformists please ref. II-5 of this thesis.

⁷⁰ Interview with one of the house mothers.

⁷¹ Interview with a girl.

...Su came home later than the required time but did not call home to notify.

She did not cooperate with the workers in group activities at the house.

Whenever she was upset or angry she would make the common room into a mess.

When she did not like someone in the house she would make very rude comments. She made criticism about the rules of the house, such as 'no fun at all in Li Shin time' or 'There should be part time workers at house during daytime.' All these negative comments were very destructive for the community spirit of the house, according to one of Su's house mothers.

Su came to sessions only because she wanted to meet the requirement of reaching 15 sessions of counselling so that she could be upgraded Ai Chhi House (where they can live independently) ...⁷²

The above is only one example of the conflicts stipulated between the person in charge, i.e. the staff of GOH, and the one who needs to obey the regulations. Be they major or minor, conflicts in the house do happen constantly. The executive of the development department of GOH, one of the pioneering workers of GOH, Ms. Wang, reminded her staff of the need of the girl prostitutes for their love.

...These girls are influenced by those who hurt them. They have come to feel inferior, insecure, and distrustful. They have confused value systems. Therefore, in order to have a new life, they need to have constant love. Only thus can their self respect be restored and their understanding of the meaning of life be renewed. However, can our love be sufficient to satisfy their needs? More important than that, how much can they feel? Discouragement often comes from mistakes made during the process of

⁷² As we have addressed in the previous section, the girls of halfway home all like to stay at Ai Chhi house. One counsellor in interview.

communication, transmission, and reception. This is precisely what both workers and girls here need to learn. It is extremely important to have mutual understanding so that the misunderstanding from communication can be reduced to a minimum.⁷³

From her description of the relationship between the girls in the Halfway home and the workers of GOH, we can detect the tension of misunderstanding or miscommunication between them. Having love for the girls is not enough; it is more important that the girls “feel” the love the workers have for them. The staffs of GOH, as pastoral care providers, need to be constantly reminded of such a fact.

IV-3.6.2. The power relationships between the staff who work as the first line workers with the girls – the social workers and the house mother or the social workers and the counsellors

Even though there are clear regulations set for the girls who stay at the halfway home, there are still ambiguities in their execution. For instance how much flexibility can the regulations have, if sometimes the girls come back home later than they were expected to arrive? There are also times when the workers have different standards of interpretation. The girls are very clever about using the differences between the workers’ standards to violate the set rules to some degree. When asked why they violate the rules, they then might use the other workers’ standard as their excuses for their violations. Thus they cause conflict or tension between the workers.⁷⁴

IV-3.6.3. Conflict between the staff of GOH in their administrative work

Other than the front line workers who work directly with the girls, GOH has many full time employees to work for the administration and other ministries of GOH. For these administrative workers, conflicts also happen among them. These conflicts might derive from the different views of whether the expansion of the ministries of GOH can

⁷³ When, in the interview, was asked about the power relationship between the girls and the workers of GOH, she stated the similar connotation but asked me to quote more fully by translating from the article she wrote: Yueh-Hao Wang, “Love Never End” in Wang-Huei Liang Wang, (ed.), *Give Her a Piece of Land to Grow*, pp. 201-203, p. 202.

⁷⁴ Shared by a house mother. Conflicts evoke issues of power as we have explored in Chapter Two, II-5.

include the ministries that they have engaged in. There are other issues like whether they should buy the office instead of renting it. One of the major controversial issues of GOH while I was there with them was whether a non-profit organization should run a profit-making business to make money to support their ministries. There was not a consensus on these issues among the staff of GOH; therefore, they caused some conflicts among the staff of GOH themselves.⁷⁵ The following comments came out in my interviews regarding some issues that caused conflicts among the staff of GOH themselves.

Before we bought the present office in one of the central areas of Taipei, we had a lot of debate with the staff of GOH. Some people objected strongly to buying such an expensive property as a non-profitable organization. They thought it was better that GOH just rent the office. If we were too much burdened by the mortgage we needed to pay, then we could not concentrate in the ministry that we are entrusted to do by the Lord. However, others thought GOH should better pay the mortgage rather than rent in the long term. The office property will one day belong to GOH. Then GOH will be no more burdened by the office rent... Anyway, among our staff there are different opinions about this issue.⁷⁶

Recently we started to run a business that cooperates with the Taiwanese Salt company.⁷⁷ But it means that we will invest part of our human resources there and hence distracts us from the works we are supposed to do as social workers or counsellors. Furthermore, that business may not make money at all, even if we claim we can make money from it to make up some of the financial needs to run GOH...⁷⁸

⁷⁵ Shared by the chaplain of GOH in interview.

⁷⁶ The executive of the department of resources, Mr. Wen.

⁷⁷ This company used to be run by Taiwan government, but now has been transferred to be run by the private sector; the government has the shares of the stocks.

⁷⁸ Interviewed with the chaplain of GOH. This chaplain left her post at GOH in 2003, not long after my doing interviewing there.

Without doubt there will be more conflicts in opinion due to the differences of individual worker's ideologies regarding how to run an institution as the institution grows and expands very fast. The conflicting points of view regarding whether or not an institution should buy property or run a profit oriented business perhaps are only the tip of the iceberg. We only list here some examples to illustrate how the staff of GOH may also have conflicts in their administrative work in terms of the differences of subjective perception and ideologies for the ministries they are working with. These differences in ideologies and subjectivity relate to issues of power among the staff's relationship of GOH; they need to find a consensus from the differences in their decision making as the institution continues to run in the society of Taiwan.⁷⁹

IV-3.7. GOH Provides the Power of Resistance against the Objectification of the Girl Prostitutes

This point basically involves the principle of treating the girls as human beings and not as objects. GOH adopts the attitude of "loving them not pitying them" in relating to the girls.⁸⁰ As a girl in the Halfway home wrote, when she was encouraged to write down how she feels, "Try to understand me, do not pity me, please help me, do not spoil me."

What does the sentence "to understand me, do not pity me" exactly mean? It means an empathetic understanding of their need for the time and space to grow, and the workers need to patiently accompany them along the way toward their growth. Miss Wang stated that:

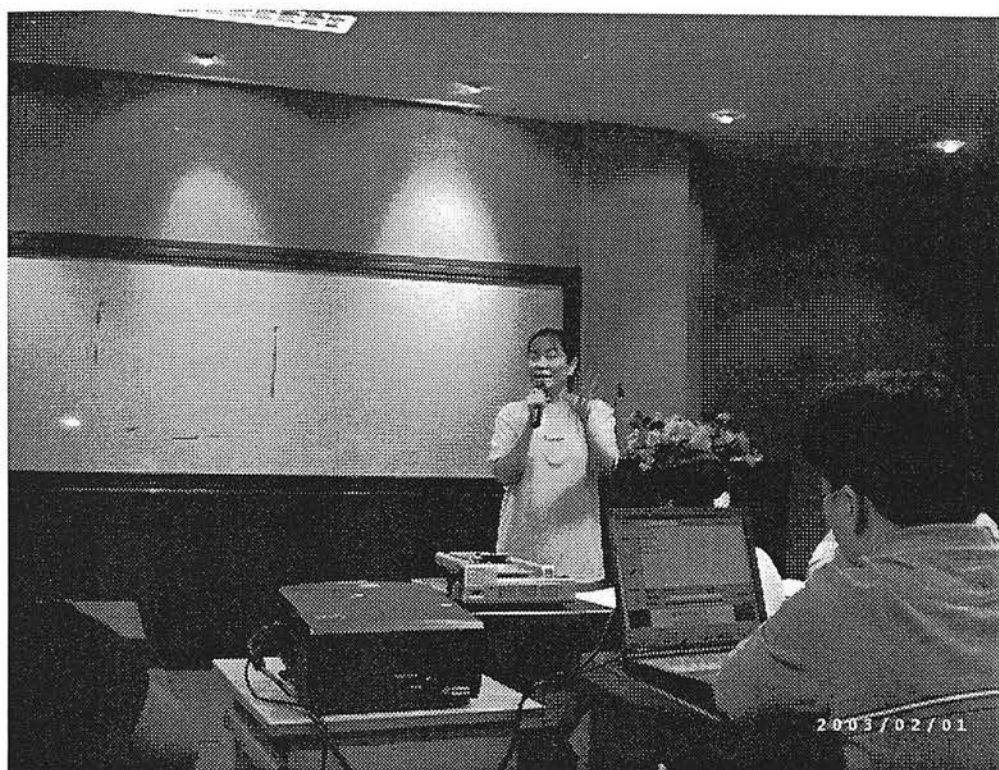
To these girls who are seeking self-respect, understanding their needs and helping them to grow are practical steps to care for them. Growth takes time and space. Therefore a worker must learn to be "patient", to understand that it takes time to grow, and to allow the space needed for them to grow. Only when one does not measure the growing speed of others by one's own value system

⁷⁹ Both vice general Executive of GOH shared similar point of view in this regard.

⁸⁰ Shared by vice general executive of GOH in Taipei.

can one truly share the joy of growth of others. It is also with love that one can believe that others have a higher level of worth.⁸¹

In her article, Huei Jong Chi, the chief executive of GOH, "The Domineered, Deprived Taiwan Girls" portrayed the culture of objectifying the girls in Taiwan that have been masked into various occupations and businesses such as "the princess of public relationship", "the miss of accompany", "Bin Lan Si Se",⁸² the lady at barber shop, and so on. (The picture below is the general executive of GOH sping at their annual training conference for the staff.)



⁸¹ Yueh-Hao Wang, "Love Never End", p. 202. The author is a key figure among the social workers at GOH and she is a non-Christian. However, she can understand the connotation of love passage in the Bible from I. Corinthian 13 and furthermore use the passage to encourage her colleagues.

⁸² The girls who sells one kind of farm products that many workers in labour field like to taste. In Taiwan the girls in this business always wear the cloths that make them exposed a great portion of their body. Huei Jong Chi, "The Domineered, Deprived Taiwan Girls" in Yia Chin Hsui, (ed.), *薪火相傳，勇敢前行* (Passing On the Fire and Walking Courageously Forward) (Taipei: GOH, 2003), pp. 58-59

“Mother Li”, an intimate name for a house mother who has worked with the girls at the Halfway home for twelve years, has given her side of the stories as she has worked there for so many years. The description below is from an interview of her:

“During her years of working at GOH, Mother Li had been beaten by the girls under her care, been burned by fire, had her purse stolen, had a criminal shoot through the window of her own home; but when she and her husband sat in the occasion of the girl’s wedding as the girl’s family members in charge of her wedding, she felt that she could be compensated and comforted for all of these panic encounters; she had been rewarded.”⁸³

The reasons for Mother Li’s being able to endure those hardship of caring for the girls in the halfway home were stated in their principles of treating the girls: “to love with understanding, to be patiently waiting for their growth, to help them in a way that does not spoil them.” This kind of love can sustain the workers through the difficulties of accompanying these girls to walk toward their rehabilitation. It is also this kind of love that distinguishes the treatment of GOH for the girls from the ones provided by the pimps that we will discuss next.

IV-3.8. GOH Provides Power of Resistance against the Dominating Power of the Brothel

In disciplining the girls GOH tries to strike a balance between giving them personal subjectivity and keeping the regulations for the common good of living together for all the girls in the Halfway Home. As we can see from the model of three stages of accommodation at the halfway home, one of the main goals of GOH’s supervision of the girls is to help them gradually learn how to gain self control in their emotional stability, schooling, working and management of their personal lives. As long as they adjust better at one stage, they can move to another stage of accommodation that will grant them more freedom and subjective decision making. Other than the final stage in

⁸³ By the time of my interviews at GOH, Mother Li had gone to America. So the description of her story is taken from Yu Fang Liang’s interview of Mother Li, “Mother Li Found Africa in Taiwan”, in Chan, Min Chin and Chuang, Su Fang, (eds.), *The Beautiful World of Garden of Hope*, pp. 152-157.

the autonomous Ai Chhi house, GOH has to train the girls in the first two stages of the halfway home how to manage their own lives and their own money and how to make decisions in their group discussion time, etc.

GOH's treatment of the girls at the halfway home is very different from the treatment the girls had while they were at brothels. There they could only obey the order of the pimps to take customers for commercial sexual transactions. Otherwise they would be treated very inhumanly, including very violent physical beating. However, at the halfway home, even the punishments of deviant girls are reasonable and do not resort to any physical beating or even abusive language, as Ms. Wang has constantly reminded her co-workers.⁸⁴ Therefore, step by step, these girl prostitutes are treated with respect. They learn how to have their personal opinions and build up their own value systems as individuals. They live in the hope that they can escape the terrible memories of dominated life at the brothel.

IV-3.9. GOH Empowers the Girls to Live Independently

“To empower the girls to live independently” is the eventual goal of GOH’s ministries for these girls. In fact, all that GOH has done for these girls is with the aim of guiding them toward that independence. It includes not only their financial independence, but also their emotional and spiritual stability.⁸⁵

We have a case, Woa Woa (meaning, the doll). The social worker from the court evaluate her as ‘not suitable to be sent back to her home’. So the judge sentenced her to be under the care of the GOH. To help her we have three simple goals: (1) To go back to night school to get a junior high degree. (2) To find a job for her (3) To help her to save some money, so that before she leave the halfway home, she can have some money of her own to live by. These goals, though simple, are not easy to achieve. For example, she was not used to the discipline of school life. She only has primary school

⁸⁴ See IV-3.7. Ms. Wang’s quotation.

⁸⁵ Interview with the chaplain of GOH.

education; it is hard to find a job. But we finally helped Woa Woa to achieve the goals...Now she is married...This client to be able to walk toward a positive direction in her life and As the result of the team work from many fields she no longer thought about going back to her life as a prostitute.⁸⁶

IV-3.9.1 The key to the empowerment of the girl prostitutes

The key to the empowerment of the girl prostitutes, according to Hung, is “unconditional love and knowing the characteristics of these girls.” These girls have been hurt so badly that they no longer trust people easily; neither can they accept discipline, guidance or training from others. Only when they know that they are loved unconditionally, even before they can pay back anything, will they “surrender” to the warm welcoming arm and also the various disciplines of GOH. Hung, in her description of what leads the girl prostitutes to be what they are, emphasizes the point of unconditional acceptance of them:

Every prostitute’s background is complex. Behind their weak and young bodies, there are stories that will touch your heart. When you meet them, you cannot help them with your sympathy or personal value system. We need to try to enter into their inner world and understand it. In so doing, we can see their choices from their points of view, accept them unconditionally and become non-judgmental in our attitude towards them.⁸⁷

As for the characteristics of the girls, GOH has requested its workers to remember and to care for their clients accordingly:

⁸⁶ The previous dean of halfway home of GOH. In interview getting her permission to have full description edited and translated from her article, “It Is the Team Work That Help Her to Walk through The Struggle of Life” in Yia Chin Hsui, (ed.), *Remember the Moon has Survived*, 116-119, p. 118. Chen had been the executive of the halfway home. After leaving the Job at GOH she studied at the seminary to be a minister. In 2004 she resume her job at GOH, but as the new chaplain of GOH.

⁸⁷ Hung in interview referred to the article she wrote, get permission to have full quotation translated from “Counselling Child Prostitutes” in *Give Her a Piece of Land to Grow* (English version), pp. 29-47, p. 36.

They have been physically or sexually abused; they need counselling for the past wounds.

They are merely young people/children; to care for them one needs to understand their developmental characteristics.

They are female; to supervise them one needs to emphasize the feminine perspectives.

They are also individuals; they need respect, sincerity and acceptance from the workers.⁸⁸

The above description can represent the prototype of the girl prostitutes, i.e. they have been physically or sexually abused, they are only children or teenagers, and they are marginalized females. To empower them to live independently is therefore a long term work and struggle. Counselling, developmental approach, and treatment with sincerity and acceptance all issues emphasized by Ms. Wang are merely some of the important perspectives.

However, are there more specific goals for GOH's work toward the girl prostitutes' empowerment? In fact, Angie Golman has explicated the goals for the treatment and empowerment of the girl prostitutes, even when GOH was still in the initial stage. We will examine those goals in the next.

IV-3.9.2. What GOH means by "the empowerment of the girl prostitutes"

According to Angie, GOH's work for the girl prostitutes hopefully can attain the following goals in these girls' lives while they stay at the halfway home:⁸⁹

- These girls can learn the "immeasurable love of God and His desire to be actively involved in the healing of their physical, emotional, and psychological wounds."

⁸⁸ For GOH's official statement about their clients please see Min Chin Chan and Su Fang Chuang, (eds.), *The Beautiful World of the Garden of Hope*, 104-125. Get permission to translate from p. 106.

⁸⁹ Angie Golman, "Give Her a Piece of Land to Grow" in GOH, (ed.), *Give Her a Piece of Land to Grow*, p.12.

As a Christian missionary, Golman's conviction is that no matter how deeply these girls were hurt in the past, as long as they can know God still loves them and they trust God's healing power, then there is always hope for these girls to be made whole again. Therefore, as a Christian institution that provides pastoral caring activities for the girl prostitutes according to what they perceive as a commission from God and as what God designed for them to do, GOH in designing programs for the girls in the halfway home insists that the girls need to have opportunities to know God, to pray to Him for help from above. Their problems are often too deep for ordinary people with limited time and energy to help. GOH has programs such as prayer time at night, going to Sunday service on Sunday, etc.⁹⁰

- They can learn "to understand themselves and their reactions to what life has brought to them."

The girl prostitutes may look like adults, but psychologically they are very often still like children. One house mother shared a story of her client.

...One of our girls was sold to the brothel in her childhood. Even though she took many customers during daytime, in the middle of the night she would still wake up crying and ask to see her mother.⁹¹

Another possible situation is that the girl prostitutes' hurts from their works, their beloved parents or relatives might be suppressed to a dark corner of their inner beings. But these suppressed feelings and emotions will show up later one way or another, as time passes by, if they have not faced and dealt with those past hurts. For instance, the case of Woa Woa has been very violently treated by her mother. As she grew up, she was easily attracted by any intimate relationship. When she was even only fifteen years old, she already "had a woman":

⁹⁰ But the girls can reject to attend, if they do not like to go. I myself led Bible study for these girls for a period of time.

⁹¹ Shared by a house mother.

I was very stupid. She is with me because she loves my money. She told me that she owed money to the underground bank. So, I also borrow money from the underground bank that charge high rate of interest....⁹²

In counselling usually the first goal for dealing with past wounds is to lead the counselee to understand why they reacted toward things as they did. This applies to girls who have been hurt so much in their lives. In other words, if GOH wants to empower these girls, they need to help the girls to face their past wounds and understand what those wounds have made them become. Hence this understanding of the self and their reactions to hurts from the past is one of the goals for the GOH work toward the girls' empowerment.

- They are going "to understand the significance of their wills as opposed to their emotions."

Golman understood that these girls have been hurt seriously not only in their bodies but also their psychics and emotions. They often show emotional instability. So, in the process of their recovery, these girls need to learn how to exercise willpower to control their emotions to some degree. They should not just let go whenever emotional disturbance comes.

As we have explored in the definition of power, the resources for individual power can come from many different sources. Therefore the personal will can become a resource for individual power. If the girls want to be healed from their past wounds, then besides help from outside the self, they need to know that they also need to use their own wills to resist the powers that have trapped them. The power of will is important for the girls' recovery. It is why GOH endeavours to empower the girls in exercising the power of their wills to resist whatever power may try to dominate them in the future.

⁹² Woa Woa was one of GOH's clients. Get permission from GOH to translate from Yu Fang Liang, "The Story of Woa Woa", in Yia Chin Hsui, (ed.), *Remember the Moon has Survived*, pp.102-114, p. 109.

- They are going “to learn how not to continue the cycle of punishing themselves by recalling and re-defining old wounds.”

For those who have been hurt badly in the past, the memories of past hurt may come back very often to disturb their inner peace. Not only their emotional stability in their daily life may be influenced, but also they may continue to recall those memories to punish themselves for what they themselves or others have done to them. There is a clear guidance for the counselling staff of GOH that in counselling persons who were hurt in the past, they need to find out where their clients were hurt and help them to face those points. But they cannot just let their clients stop there to mourn over past wounds forever. Rather, in order to be healed more completely, the principle is that these people need to move a step forward to forgive themselves and others for whatever wrong they have done. Self punishment for wrong things done to them in the past by others or themselves does not help their healing at all. They need to learn how to forgive themselves and others who hurt them in the past.⁹³ It is for the above reasons that GOH works for the empowerment of the girl prostitutes through helping them to forgive themselves and others.

- They are going “to move progressively toward deeper levels of healing to the point where they will be able to help another girls in their struggle toward healings and productive livings.”⁹⁴

What Golman means by the above statement is parallel to her Christian teaching in II Corinthians 1, “We suffer so that we can know how to comfort others.” She believes that if these girls could walk out of their “valley of death”,⁹⁵ they would be able to encourage many who later also fell into the trap of prostitution. In order to reach the “deeper levels of healing”, GOH organizes programs such as cultural exposure, individual counselling, group counselling and other activities for the girls at the halfway home. Through these activities, GOH hopes that these girls can be guided to

⁹³ Interview with the executive of counselling department of GOH.

⁹⁴ Angie Golman, “Give Her a Piece of Land to Grow” in Wang-Huei, Liang Wang, (ed.), *Give Her a Piece of Land to Grow*, pp. 9-14, p. 12. Golman listed these points as goals for the staff of GOH to achieve for the girl prostitutes.

⁹⁵ Psalm 23, Bible.

the point where, not only are they healed to a deeper level so that they can live independently in the society, but also they can help others in the same situation as they were.

The above are the goals of GOH's work for the empowerment of the girl prostitutes. In theories of power, the processes of empowerment often depend on whom we intend to empower, and through what methods.⁹⁶ If we intend to empower different objects, the area of working and the method will be different. In the case of the girl prostitutes, the method of GOH is to invite them to live at the halfway home for a long period of time so that they can adopt the well designed programs that fit the girl prostitutes' needs. Step by step, through unconditional love and acceptance, GOH combats the power issues in the girls' relationships that have trapped them.

IV-3.9.3. How much do the former girl prostitutes like staying at the halfway home?

It is important to be very cautious in discussing a caring relationship not to deprive the subjectivity of the persons who are under care. Therefore, how the girls feel about staying at the halfway home matters in terms of the running of the halfway home in pastoral care. From my interviews, I found it very interesting that, even though the girl prostitutes were not very used to following regulations, when asked what they thought of those rules their answers were in common that they knew GOH set those rules out of good intentions to help them on the road of recovery. Even the one mentioned above who has often been in conflict with the staff of GOH, after stating how she had conflicts with the staff, still said,

Even though I do not like some of our house mothers' way when they discipline us, I knew they love us. Otherwise they would not come to be our house mothers and they needn't bother with me. Some day, if I have money from working outside, I want to offer money to GOH, too.⁹⁷

From this girl's own statement, we can tell that she personally understands that, even though she constantly has conflicts with the staff of GOH and with the other girls and

⁹⁶ Ref. II-6, "Power and Women", in this thesis.

⁹⁷ Interviewed from a girl presently lives in the long term halfway home.

is often disciplined, she knows she is loved by GOH and GOH's attempts to discipline her are for her own good.

Nevertheless, in the difficult works to which GOH is dedicated, we can be almost certain that there were some cases in which they did not see good results, at least not to see the fruits of their efforts before their eyes right away. In order to let the readers know that we are not naively oversimplifying the difficulty of the work that GOH has been doing, we will give a girl's story from the description of a GOH house mother in the next section.

IV-3.10. In Treating the Clients, GOH's Attitude to Use Their Power is to Care, not to Domineer – The Possibilities of Failure Cases

In any power relationship, the powerful tend to use their powers to dominate the powerless as discussed in chapter II. GOH as an institution providing pastoral care is very cautious about how it may use its power to care for the girl prostitutes. From what we have explored in this chapter, how they discipline the girls, how they try to provide individual and group therapies for them and how they punish the girls who do not follow the regulations of the house, all these approaches are not coercive or domineering. In particular, the halfway home of GOH is an open system; if the girls do not like it they can always leave unless they were sentenced by court to a compulsory stay at GOH. In a word, the girl prostitutes are not confined in the halfway home. Even though there are often conflicts in the house among different categories of people, the attitude of the staff of GOH in dealing with the conflicts is still caring not domineering. It is why the girl I interviewed above could appreciate the caring of GOH.

Nevertheless, because the system of the halfway home is open and the attitude of dealing with the girls is caring not domineering, it is hence also very easy for the girls to run away from the halfway home, in particular if they are badly adjusted to that lifestyle after living in a brothel for a long time or having been a free person as a voluntary worker in commercial sex. Cases of failure are not unusual in the kind of work that GOH is doing. However, GOH has to choose between domineering over the girls and leaving them free to go in their approach to running a halfway home. And the latter is GOH's choice.

Next, we will give a full story of a prostituted girl who lived at the halfway home of GOH. The purpose of providing a full description of this girl is to give the reader of this thesis a clearer picture of what we have been addressing: the complicated background of the prostitutes, the complexities of GOH's work for the girl prostitutes and why they need to carry out their work in many different areas such as group and individual psychological counselling, social worker's communication with the family and the school and many other programs to resist the powers that were over the girl prostitutes.

The case we are going to describe is not a successful case in a sense that this client has run away from the halfway home many times and now GOH does not know where she is. As we mentioned at the very beginning of our case study, the halfway home that GOH provides is an open system and the girls, if not mandatorily sent by the court to the house, are free to leave whenever they like. Or even if a girl is sentenced to stay at the halfway home under compulsion, she can still very easily run away from the house when she goes to work or to school. In a word, the methodology of GOH toward the girl prostitutes is "to care" not "to domineer". On the other hand, many of the backgrounds of these girls are very complicated, and they are difficult to discipline or to make to follow the regulations GOH set for the halfway home, in particular for the first month of their staying at the house. Therefore, cases of failure are not unusual, even though there have also been many successful cases as we have collected from Mother Li's description in our previous exploration.

The following full story was stated by a house mother of the halfway home at the Kaohsiung branch of GOH.⁹⁸

This client 'R', her mother had taken drugs for a long time (substance abuse), later her father also joined in (taking drugs). When R was in primary school fifth grade, her mother died of a drug overdose and she saw in person how her mother died in the bathroom.

⁹⁸ Interview with the house mother of halfway home of GOH.

Her father was sent to the drug rehabilitation centre, two children in her family were fostered by her grandmother. Her grandmother had divorced from her grandfather and re-married. So the two kids had to take turns to stay at their grandmother and grandfather's places.

Their father, after getting out of the rehabilitation centre, started to sell drugs. When she was in sixth grade, she was sexually abused. She first confessed that she was abused by her grandfather's friend, but later altered it to "carrying out commercial sex transactions" in Taipei. She had worked with one of her friends on a routine such as inducing a man to the hotel and then taking all his valuables and running away before the man had the chance to have sex with her.

Then she worked at an underground Chio-Chia,⁹⁹ performing commercial sex. After a few months working there, she ran away from there....when she was finally caught by the police it was because she stole a motorcycle. She was sentenced by the court to be "disciplined under protection" for three months.

Within the three months she found she was pregnant. She was advised to have an abortion.¹⁰⁰ After the abortion, she lived in the halfway home of GOH, by then she was only 15 years old.

At the halfway home, GOH helped her to get into night school, before that she had already changed schools twice at junior high. Her emotional state is very unstable. There was a tendency to attempt suicide and take drug overdoses. She also had the symptoms of the victim of sexual abuse such as waking at midnight and disturbing the house mothers, eating very violently and then going to toilet to make

⁹⁹ Chio-Chia in Taiwan has the nature like the mixture of pub and restaurant in western society. But in Taiwan, at Chio-Chia the customers can pay for asking the girls who work there to accompany the customers to drink or to have sexual behaviour.

¹⁰⁰ This girl came to GOH after her abortion. The GOH usually does not encourage abortion.

herself vomit. She was very bad at controlling her emotions. She often had conflicts with the girls at the halfway home.

To accommodate her at the halfway home, she needed to follow the regulations of the home like the other girls. The first half year of staying at the house, she obeyed very well. But at the new year holiday, she went home to visit her family. After a few days of holiday, she could not keep herself from running away from the house. When girls do not show up 24 hours after the agreed set time of returning, GOH have to report to the police. So, GOH did. When the police found her again and sent her back to GOH, it was three or four months later. Then she continued this pattern of behaviour, in and out many times in the year. In between times she often took drug overdoses, disturbed people at midnight, ate violently and even jumped into the river to attempt suicide. But the social worker was suspicious that she knew she would be saved, her doing that was to attract people's attention to her. She liked to have people surrounding her. We needed to take her to see the psychiatrist and counsellor. We also tried religious ways of teaching her how to pray. But at the house's worship time, she refused to attend (we do not force them to attend). Only Sunday worship, if we encouraged her, she might attend. But some cultural programs like musical concerts she liked to attend.

We thought she was not suitable for the open support system such as the halfway home of GOH. But the court cannot sentence to a confined system (she was still only a young person and she had not committed a serious crime). She had stayed at the halfway home for more than two years by now (the time of interview). But she had also run away from the house many times (more than three times). Every time she ran away she made her living by commercial sexual transactions and then was caught by the police and sent back to the house by the court. I suggested to the court that next time perhaps it was not suitable for her to be sent back to the halfway home of GOH, she needed to be sent to a juvenile

supervision centre that is a closed system of discipline.

From the above house mother's description of a prostituted girl's story, we can see that even only in dealing with this girl, GOH already needed counsellors, psychiatrist, constant contact with the hospital, police and the court and prayer, namely, all the things we have discussed above under the head of what GOH has done for the girl prostitutes. They also needed to deal with the problems of drugs, suicide, and conflicts in the house that this girl had with the other girls and the staff of GOH. The complexity of their work we can already see from just one case.

On the other hand we can also see how this girl's problem was rooted far earlier in her childhood, the dysfunctions of parental guardian power. A child saw in person how her mother died of a drug overdose, and then her father also took drugs and even sold them and she could not help these events. Then to be fostered at her grandmother's home, and even there she only knew her grandmother, not others in the family, because that was her grandmother's re-married family. What was worse was that even in her grandmother's family she could not stay long term but needed to transfer between her grandmother's house and her original grandfather's house. With such a family background, it was not too difficult for us to imagine that sooner or later the girl would run away from her foster family to make a life on her own if she could find a way out. But for the purpose of our research, our focus was how much and how deeply this girl would be hurt emotionally and physically and how difficult a task GOH had to take a case like R and try to bring a holistic healing to her and to empower her to live as an integrated person in emotional stability and financial independence in society.

The house mother claimed this case as a failure because she thought R's problem was too deep and was beyond the capacity of GOH, an open system, to help. For two years all she could see from this client was running in and out of the halfway home and she did not see much progress in the girl's behaviour in terms of emotional stability or in following the regulations of the house or living a common life as the other girls in the halfway home did. Therefore she was thinking of suggesting that the court send the girl to a closed system not GOH next time.

As mentioned previously in this section, GOH does not carry out its task by domineering but by caring. Therefore, success is not guaranteed,¹⁰¹ there are always failure cases among the successful cases. The successful cases are that the girls go back to the school and are equipped with skills of working in society, get out of the halfway home and work in society and perhaps marry.

IV-3.11. GOH Constantly Provides Power of Resistance to the Issues Related to the Girl Prostitutes

The nature of the work of GOH is to help girl prostitutes. Therefore, as long as there are girl prostitutes in society, there is work for GOH to do. Not only that but GOH does not simply wait for cases to come; rather they trace back the causes of the girls becoming prostitutes and try to erase those causes from Taiwanese society. No matter how effective their work can be, they have been trying to do so for many years. Since its establishment, GOH has consistently and persistently worked for the same theme regarding helping the girl prostitutes.

What GOH has done consistently, persistently and developmentally to help the girl prostitutes in Taiwanese society were as what have addressed in III-4.8 such as launching “Anti-Child Prostitution in Taiwan” as a series of campaigns (April, 1993) and establish “Dandelion Counselling Centre” and actively help sexually abused children (May, 1994).¹⁰²

Furthermore, GOH knows what they endeavour to do for the girl prostitutes is not only the work of the halfway home. Rather it is better to carry out some preventive work in society. Therefore, they constantly campaign in the society of Taiwan for the transformation of some ideologies that are against girls’ status in the family or in society. It means that GOH does not wait for the case to come; rather they trace back

¹⁰¹ Though there were also many of the successful case as we have interviewed from house mother, mother Li in the previous section.

¹⁰² GOH in Wang-Huei Liang Wang, (ed.), *Give Her a Piece of Land to Grow*, pp. 286-87. This is a list of the works the GOH has done by the time of the publishing of the book in 1996. By the time I interviewed the institution (Summer, 2003), there were certainly more things they have done. Here we only list these items in order to focus on the theme relating to the girl prostitutions. A more complete list we have listed in III-4.8

the causes for the girls becoming a prostitute and try to erase those causes from the society of Taiwan.

Some of GOH's campaigns for this a purpose were promoting having a "daughter's day" in Taiwanese society, establishing "the centre for the growth of girls", writing the curricula for the empowerment of women and girls, the exploration of gender and sexual relationship between men and women (ref. the list in III-4.8).¹⁰³ All these works of GOH are to make girls and women aware of their own value and also to demand that the public of Taiwan re-think the value of girls and women in Taiwanese society. GOH does this in the hope that the prevailing ideologies that objectify girls and women can be gradually changed through their preventive efforts.

¹⁰³ The information was provided by the chief executive of GOH, Ms. Chi.

Conclusion

We have explored in this chapter how GOH has the vision of establishing a halfway home to make up the shortfalls in treatment of girl prostitutes. The halfway home is for the long term recovery of the girl prostitutes. We have examined how GOH has learned from the experiences of working with the girls and provided for the girls' needs in different aspects. The needs of the girls are basically dealing with the powers that had trapped them into prostitution. Therefore, since its establishment GOH, as a pastoral care provider, has been providing the necessary power of resistance to help the girl prostitutes to resist the powers that caught them. Those powers include the inadequacy of the government's treatment of them and the hurt from past experiences, either the deprivation associated with dysfunctional families or the hurt from being a prostitute.

We have also considered in this chapter the kind of conditions and regulations that will be needed to run a halfway home. The girls in the halfway home need specific regulations so that they can have the strength to resist those powers that prevent them from living as an ordinary girl of their age in society. In other words these girls first need to learn to live in harmony and safety and to walk together on the path toward recovery. The goal of recovery for the girls is to regain their subjective capacity in decision making and in living independently. They have to learn to live autonomously, so that they will not be trapped by other outside powers in the society. Then they can resist the various powers that prevent them from being what God wants them to be.

To reach such a goal, GOH needs to provide various personnel for the halfway home such as counsellors, social workers and house mothers. Besides the personnel, GOH also needs to design rehabilitation programs for the girls. Furthermore, from what we have seen in this chapter along with the materials in the previous chapter, we know that to rescue the girl prostitutes and to lead them to the path of recovery is a complicated task. The whole complex package involves an interlinked network. On the one hand, GOH needs to deal with juridical law such as juvenile welfare law and child welfare law. On the other hand, it needs to apply for funding for the expenses of the girl prostitutes' living and schooling from the social welfare department of the government, and to guard against possible revenge by the gangs. Moreover, it also

needs to make sure that the girls have appropriate medical care for their physical health and individual counselling as well as group therapy for their emotional healing.

Helping the girl prostitutes also means treating them with love and care. They need the kind of discipline that nourishes their sense of personal autonomy. For the girl prostitutes to reconnect with normal social life, activity programs such as going to shows and performances or outings are also a crucial part of the rehabilitation process. Last, but not least, as far as GOH is concerned, the spiritual nurturing or guidance of the girl prostitutes is a necessary factor for their becoming persons with integrity. We list the types of the care GOH has provided for the girl prostitutes in the following tables:

Types of GOH's Care for the Girl prostitutes

- Medical treatment
- Legal services
- Skills training
- Education or employment counselling
- Life counselling
- School work counselling
- Psychological counselling
- Group counselling
- Spiritual guidance
- Social activities

From the above list we can see the complexity and the multiple dimensions of the care that GOH has provided for the girl prostitutes. These complexities are translated into practical needs for daily life, as demonstrated by the chart below. The chart below can also help us understand that providing pastoral caring activities for the girls must involve practical and holistic approaches. Only then can we help them to recover from their past wounds and to empower them for their new lives.

The practical and holistic perspectives of the methodology of GOH in caring for the girl prostitutes

- Providing facilities for accommodation

- Getting sufficient financial support
- Maintaining the privacy and security of the halfway home and the girls
- Setting stable and consistent regulations
- Fluent communication between the workers in different fields
- Designing creative and helpful programs
- Step by step training for the girls to go back to the ordinary life
- Constantly communicating with society outside the halfway home such as the teachers at school or the boss of the girls' workplace

All the above works are concrete and specific needs that can actually empower the girls through their daily lives while living in the halfway home of GOH.

We have also shown that all kinds of power issues that are rooted in the girls' past relationships. In chapter three and this chapter we have explored the case study in the light of theories of power in sociological studies. We have examined their relevance to the pastoral caring activities of GOH. In doing so, we have considered how GOH has provided the powers of resistance for the sake of helping these girls. The issues GOH has dealt with in the girls' power relationships are: the government (ref. II-1), the transformation of the cultural ideology (ref. II-2), the assertion and awareness of the girl prostitutes' subjectivity (ref. II-3), the deviant girls' discipline and punishment with love (ref. II-5) and the objectification of the girl prostitutes (ref. II-6). All the above works are needed in helping the girl prostitutes.

From the process discussed above, we can draw some conclusions about the power of resistance that GOH has to nourish in the girls so that they can overcome the powers that made them prostitutes and hinder them from resuming ordinary life. Now we categorize the girls' needs according to the areas of power and what GOH has done in those specific areas:

Difficulties and needs of the girl prostitutes: Inferior or deprived family background: health, nourishment, education, cultural exposure.

Issues of power: Government, economic and parental power

GOH's pastoral caring activities:

- Provision of resources:
- safe accommodation
- nutritious food
- financial needs
- necessary personnel for long term living at the halfway home such as social workers, counsellors, tutors, house mothers
- programs for long term learning or empowerment
- reconnecting them with resources in society such as health insurance, school

Difficulties and needs of the girl prostitutes: discipline in life

Issues of power: discipline and conflict

GOH's pastoral caring activities:

Helping with discipline in

- schooling
- routine work in society
- following the regulations for living together at halfway home
- money management

Difficulties and needs of the girl prostitutes: Dealing with conflicts with disciplinary personnel

Issues of power: Discipline, the deviant, autonomy, conflict and punishment

GOH's pastoral caring activities:

- contact with disciplinary personnel
- set regulations for living in the halfway home, dealing with conflicts happening

among the following personnel

- being sure the authority gives punishments suitably:
- at school such as class teacher, counsellor
- at workplace such as the boss
- house mother of the halfway home
- direct social worker of GOH
- personal counsellor of GOH

Difficulties and needs of the girl prostitutes: Sound subjective perception and decision making

Issues of power: Subjectivity, value system (ideology) and autonomy

GOH's pastoral caring activities:

Designing programs for the girls to learn the following issues:

- no more give up the self
- have hope for the future
- regain trust in people
- know they are loved by God, the staff of GOH and many people in society

GOH does sometimes fail in its rehabilitation process. As we have indicated, some of the girl prostitutes/clients of GOH run away from the halfway home. These cases of "failure" demonstrate for us the difficulties of pastoral caring activities that involve various power struggles. On the other hand, if later on, some of these runaway girls will recall and reflect on the care and love that they received from the workers of GOH, and they come to desire the kind of integrated life that they had when they lived at the halfway home of the GOH, then perhaps we should not consider these cases as "failure." The real result may not be immediately obvious.

For now we want to conclude this chapter with some comments that the chief executive of the Social Welfare Department of Taiwan made on the work that GOH has been doing for girl prostitutes in Taiwan:

“The management of the individual case is a kind of task that combines rationality and sensibility, because it needs regularity in its operation and humanity in its management of the individual client. It also needs to balance between satisfying the needs of the individual clients and professional ethics of the work. GOH has provided rich working experiences for the management of the girls at the Halfway home in various areas. Their work is carried through with the combination of practical services with professional knowledge.”¹⁰⁴

“Halfway home is an institution; however, GOH has endeavoured to make it like a home for the girls who stay there. The atmosphere of ‘being like a home’ is very important for the girls who have been wounded. They lack a sense of security and they have few educational qualifications. They thirst for love and care.... To provide services for the suffering girls is a long journey. As the chief executive of the department of social affairs of the country, I appreciate every one of the workers in this field; because of their dedication and persistence, I believe there will be flowers facing the sun and smiling everyday.”¹⁰⁵

The work of GOH for the girl prostitutes has been affirmed in the society of Taiwan, as it is demonstrated by the comment of the chief executive of the Social Welfare Department of Taiwan. Though she did not use the language of power to address it, we know through the case studies in the last two chapters that what GOH has been doing for the girl prostitutes is in fact a series of power struggles. GOH has been trying to provide powers of resistance for the girl prostitutes to resist the powers that had caught

¹⁰⁴ Chen Chao Mei, “The Preface” in Min Chin Chan and Su Fang Chuang, (eds.), *The Beautiful World of GOH*, pp. 1-3, p. 2

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 2-3.

them through the power relationships in their life as we have explored in both chapters of III and IV.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁶ There is another important perspective of power relating to the work of GOH which we could not explore in depth. That is the issue of the ecology of an organization, a vast and complicated field of study. Therefore we only give it a general description which relates to life at the halfway home. For a more in-depth exploration we can only wait for other scholarly studies in the field.

V. A Pastoral Theology: Pastoral Care as a Constant Power Struggle

Introduction

In the previous chapters we have defined a pastoral theology from the third world context. Both theological reflections and pastoral caring practices in real life context are necessary. Therefore the caring activities must be specific to the life context. We have also explored the theological perspective of the pastoral theology proposed in this thesis. We explore it from the perspective of the sociological studies of power, and we find that these themes are also prominent in the realities of Taiwanese life. We have also found examples in the biblical tradition. We believe that the study of practising caring activities must be carried out in the context of specific care provider and its target care receiver. In this thesis, we select one pastoral care provider, Garden of Hope, and its targeted care receiver, the girl prostitutes, to examine how GOH deals with the problems faced by the girl prostitutes. We reach the conclusion, after examining the caring activities that the GOH provides for the girl prostitutes, that GOH indeed needs to involve into the girl prostitutes' power relationship and to combat with the various power traps in their lives.

In this chapter we advance to propose a pastoral theology related to the topic of power: pastoral care as a constant struggle with powers. We will organize the themes we have explored so far – from the fields of pastoral theology, theories of power in sociological study, Biblical and contextual integration with issues of power, and the real caring activities of a social welfare institution for the girl prostitutes – to argue for a pastoral theology that is from the context of the Third World: *a pastoral theology which recognizes that in caring for people as a pastoral care provider, a series of power struggles is involved. The care provider needs to combat, and to combat constantly, the various power issues surrounding the people who are under its care.*

We will argue, based on the researches of the previous four chapters, that our proposed pastoral theology will meet the following criteria: (1) It is in the field of practical theology. (2) It is a theology about pastoral care in the third world context. (3) It is the kind of pastoral theology that shows the involvement of issues of power in the pastoral care relationships in concrete situations.¹ (4) The processes of pastoral caring for

¹ By this we mean how issues of power affect both the pastoral care provider and those whom are cared for.

people is a series of struggles with powers that control, dominate or oppress the cared ones.

After we have explored the above issues we can show the characteristics of the powers in pastoral caring relationship and of the power struggles that the pastoral care provider in our case, Garden of Hope, needs to go through for the sake of the cared ones. However, first we need to discuss the relationship between our proposed pastoral theology and the nature of practical theology as expounded in chapter one.

V-1. The GOH's Pastoral Caring Activities for the Girl prostitutes are in the Field of Practical Theology

V-1.1. Recapture the Theme of Practical Theology – James Fowler's diagram of practical theology

In order to start from what we have discussed in the previous chapters, here, we recapture James Fowler's notion on the relations of practical theology to other fields of study to continue our discussion on how pastoral theology is in the field of practical theology (see his chart on practical theology and our analysis of it in I-3.4.3). We have analysis his chart in I-3.4.3 to understand that Fowler's notion of practical theology are:

- (1). often derives from multiple interactions with various fields of studies such as Biblical, historical and ethical studies
- (2). has social scientific and helping-professional orientation
- (3). needs to be based on Scripture and the tradition of the faith
- (4). needs to relate to the present situation
- (5). meets the challenge of the living circumstances and
- (6). has ecclesial praxis that has the goals of cure and transformation of the persons and socio-political and economic engagement in the society in which they live, etc.

Next we will need to examine whether GOH's caring activities meets Fowler's criteria of practical theology.

V-1.2. The GOH's Pastoral Caring Activities for the Girl prostitutes Meet the Application of Fowler's Definition

GOH's caring for the girls in fact does need professional knowledge (point (1)) such as counselling and social works in humanist social science (i.e. III-4.6. and IV-3.7). In disciplining the girl prostitutes at the halfway house GOH often needs ethical judgment (IV-3.4, 5 and 6.) and in taking social resources from the Taiwanese government it often needs to pay attention to the political landscape in Taiwan (point (3)) (i.e. III-4.1.5, III-4.3.2, and III-4.8.). It has indeed "multiple interactions with various fields of studies" and "social scientific and helping-professional orientation"

(point (2)) (IV-3.).

Furthermore, as we have examined in chapters three and four, what GOH has been doing is very contemporary related (point (4)) (III-2), challenging the prevailing ideologies such as using the girls as objects for male sexual satisfaction in society (III-4.3.1 and 2.), and the policies of the Taiwanese government in terms of treating s?? (III-4.2). It obviously “relates to the present situation” and “meets the challenge of the living circumstances” too (point (5)) (III-2; III-3.1. and 2.).

Finally, the basis for the establishment of GOH is out of the compassion of their founders derived from their faith and their trust that God’s zeal will accomplish what God has moved them to do for the girl prostitutes (III-1.1.). Later, in designing the programs for the girls (point (6)), they also drew from the teaching of Scripture and their faith tradition. The goal for their doing all these things for the girl prostitutes has ecclesial orientation, such as to bring healing and transformation for the girls and society as a whole (point (6)) (III-4.8 and the conclusion of Ch. III).

V-1.3. Poling’s Definition of Practical Theology

Poling also gives a definition of practical theology, but he derives it from the perspective of his work with sexually abused people. Besides James Fowler’s definition of practical theology, we particularly state Poling’s definition because it relates to our case study of the Garden of Hope. GOH’s clients, the girl prostitutes, are exactly the victims of the various abused powers as explored in chapters three and four.

Practical theology is theological interpretation of the unheard voice of personal and community life for the purpose of continual transformation of faith in the true God of love and power toward renewed ministry practice.²

Poling’s definition of what a practical theology is supposed to be from the perspective of the ones who are cared for. He further analyzes the following major components of practical theology:

² James Newton Poling, *The Abuse of Power: A Theological Problem* ((Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1991), p. 187.

- (1). Description of lived experience
- (2). Critical awareness of perspectives and interests
- (3). Correlation of perspectives from culture and the Christian tradition
- (4). Interpretation of meaning and value.
- (5). Critique of interpretation
- (6). Guidelines and specific plans for a particular community.³

We will decode what Poling means by the above components of a practical theology, and at the same time analyze GOH's caring activities for the girl prostitutes to see whether they meet the criteria of a practical theology.

First, GOH presents before people in Taiwanese society the situation of the girl prostitutes in Taiwan (point (1)) (III-4.1. and 2.). Second, GOH has empathetically stood "from the perspective and for the interest" of the girl prostitutes such as to seek governmental resources and provide accommodations for them (point (2) (IV-3). Third, GOH has been alert to the relationship of the situation of the girl prostitutes to cultural ideologies and government policies; it examines, interprets and criticizes such phenomena of the society from Christian teaching (point (3) and (5)) (IV-3.4. and 7.). Fourth, GOH evaluates the value and meaning of their actions on the basis of God's demand for them to love and act for the oppressed. They establish halfway houses for the girls' rehabilitation and further provide programs for their returning to normal life in the society of Taiwan (point (6)) (Ch. IV). Finally, they also provide guidelines and specific plans for the society of Taiwan where they belong and where the stories of their clients come from (IV-3.7 and IV-3.8).

Therefore, according to both Fowler's and Poling's definitions of practical theology, GOH's caring for the girls is in the scope of practical theology.

³ James N. Polling, and Donald E. Miller, *Foundations for a Practical Theology of Ministry* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1985), p. 69; Poling, p. 186-87.

V-2. GOH's Caring Activities in the Power Relationships of the Girl prostitutes' Life are Pastoral in their Nature and hence Meet the Requirement of a Pastoral Theology

V-2.1. Recapture the Theme of Pastoral Theology in the Third World Context – the general principles for the practice of a pastoral theology in the Third World context

In chapter one we have drawn some general principles from the analysis of the practice of the PCT's pastoral theology in Taiwan for future reference (I-3.4.3). Now we will examine them one by one in relation to the pastoral care that GOH provides for the girl prostitutes. In the following, to avoid repetition we will only state those principles briefly and put our emphasis on how these principles can also be applied in the context of GOH's caring activities for the girl prostitutes.⁴

V-2.1.1. A pastoral theology in the Third World context needs to have two perspectives, theological reflection and caring activities

In chapter one, we used Fabella's definition of pastoral theology in the Third World context that speaks of the need to have two components in any context: "a theological perspective, which is derived from the document of faith, and a pastoral perspective, which is about the caring for the people in the living context"(I-2). Therefore, if this thesis is to explore a pastoral theology that claims that pastoral care for God's people in the collective domain is a constant power struggle, we also need to have both theological and pastoral perspectives. For the theological reflection, we have started from sociological studies on theories of power and found that those major themes of power can also be applied in the life stories of the people in Taiwan (II-1 to 6). Furthermore, we also examined these themes in the lives of Biblical figures and found that these themes also appeared in their relationships (II-7).

As for the practice of a pastoral theology, it needs to have a specific context regarding "who" provides the pastoral caring activities for "whom", "where" and "what time period". So, we use the methodology of case study and have the Garden of Hope as the subject that provides the pastoral caring activities and the girl prostitutes in Taiwan as our targeted objects that received care (III-1). Having specified both the subject that

⁴ For the following principles of pastoral caring activities in the context of the third world, please reference I-3.

provides the pastoral caring activities and the objects that receive care, we went on in chapters III and IV to explore the interactions between the pastoral care provider and the ones under care. We have explored specific programs GOH provides for the rehabilitations of the girl prostitutes such as the setting of regulations for their living together in the halfway home, and facilitating opportunities for cultural exposures to make up what the girls lack from their dysfunctional families. From GOH's caring activities for the girls, we have examined the second part of a pastoral theology, which involves practice in real life context and examining whether those activities do relate to power struggles.

V-2.1.2. In practising pastoral theology, time and context may change, the focus of caring strategy may be different, but the theological convictions need to be in accordance with the tradition of faith.

For the PCT, the goal of their pastoral theology as derived from the Bible is captured in the watchword "Let all the glory be to God". The PCT makes this theological concept the guiding principle for their pastoral caring for people in Taiwan. Therefore, whether it is the period between the end of the Second World War and 1987 (the year in which martial law was lifted in Taiwan) or after 1987, their conviction of doing all things for God's glory was not changed, even though the strategies of how to serve the people in their society were changed such as from more political participation to more internal spiritual guidance (I-3).

As for the GOH's pastoral caring for the girl prostitutes, they are very aware that what they are involved in terms of major themes of power in sociological studies. Those themes do not only appear in those girls' lives, but also in the lives of people in Biblical times (II-7). The staff of the GOH also recognize that their role as pastoral care providers is to provide the power of resistance against all kinds of oppression in the girl prostitutes' power relationships (III-4.1 to III-4.8 and IV-3.1 to IV-3.10). Such a conviction is derived from the general teachings of their faith such as letting the ones who sit in darkness see the light, making the crippled walk and setting the captives free.⁵

V-2.1.3. The principles derived from the Bible should be practised in real life, in a specific context. Contextualisation is necessary, for the influence of cultural complexity on doing theology in a missionary situation has been thoroughly

discussed by nineteenth century missionaries.

In chapter I, the development of pastoral theology in the western context, we have explored how the development of pastoral theology has shifted focus from psychological counselling to the care of the individual in the church (I-1). But as for pastoral theology in the Third World context, we discovered from the story of the Presbyterian Churches in Taiwan that under the influence of the political significance of Taiwan, the PCT, based on their theological reflection of “May all the glory be to God”, have stepped out of the church walls to provide pastoral care to the people in the society of Taiwan (I-3). As for the Garden of Hope, in seeing the problems of girl prostitutes in their society, they initiated activities to care for those girls (III-1.1). Therefore both the PCT and GOH are doing pastoral theology and practising their pastoral caring activities in terms of real life problems of the people in Taiwan. They have practised the biblical principles they received from the tradition of their faith in dialogue with their cultures; there was therefore contextualization in their practice of pastoral care.⁶

V-2.1.4. To contextualise a pastoral theology, the local people’s experiences, stories, and sayings are what count, for they are helpful in recovering the dignity of a formerly colonised people.

This thesis is to compose a pastoral theology from the Third World context. In chapter I we stated what Bo Ho Hung mentioned, that the purpose of a contextualized pastoral theology is to make disciples of the Taiwanese in their own God-given culture and history and to connect the church with the people and the land in a salvific way.⁷ The stories and sayings of the girl prostitutes and the staff of GOH we have addressed in chapters III and IV are in fact from the local context of the society of Taiwan. For example, in chapter III we have come to understand what the cultural ideology is regarding why men like to use girls as an object for satisfying their sexual desire (III-3.4). In chapter IV, we also let the house mother of the halfway house speak for what it is like to be a house mother living with and trying to discipline the girl prostitutes who live in the halfway house (IV-3.5). We also let the chaplain say how they try to lead those girls to know Jesus, the main subject of the GOH’s faith formation. The GOH are trying to connect those girls with the good news they heard

⁵ The connotations are from the Bible passage book of Isaiah 9, 11, and 35.

⁶ Regarding the concept of contextualization we have dealt with it in I-2.

⁷ Bo Ho Huang, *Talks on Contextualization Theology of Taiwan* (Tainan, Taiwan: The PCT Church Press, 1999), pp. 59-63.

from their faith tradition; they have tried to connect with the girls in their power struggles, to use Hung's term, "a salvific way" (IV-3.3).

V-2.1.5. The essence of this strategy is to participate in the life context and to identify with people in the community.

By "to participate in the life context" of the local people we mean, as Wang asserted,

...to take initiatives to participate in their life, to understand their background, to affirm their strong points, to acknowledge their weaknesses, to accept the way they act.⁸

In chapter one we have mentioned that to identify with people in the community requires reflecting on how to convey the gospel in a way which is acceptable/suitable for them. However, this does not mean that we accept everything people do and say in the community without discernment, nor does it mean compromising the essence of the principles of faith.⁹ Rather, "it is through generous and sacrificial offering or giving, learned from the example of the Lord Jesus Christ, to meet the needs of the people in the community."¹⁰ The PCT in contextualising their pastoral theology did not treat culture as absolute." (I-3.4.3) They let the standard of the Bible be their ethical norm as shown in their teaching of the Bible to people at a young age.¹¹

As for GOH's caring activities, they have a similar nature in what they did for the girl prostitutes. GOH did not let the girl prostitutes go along with the capitalist consumer ideology, "as long as I like, why not" carry out "supportive diplomatic transactions" (II-3 and 4). Rather they provide them with another alternative that is through genuine loving attitudes; they stand firmly in the discipline of the girl prostitutes and help them to complete their formal education at school or work in the society other than as

⁸ Wu Chhong Wang, *A Study of Contextualising Evangelism* (台灣本土文化談道的探討), pp. 18-19

⁹ Ibid., pp. 18-19.

¹⁰ In the footnote 82 of ch. I we mentioned that Lesslie Newbigin in "Culture and Theology" asked some questions regarding issue of culture, here to refresh our memory we requite them here to remind readers why those questions relate to our works through the case study of GOH: 'Would all "Contextualisation" and "Inculturation" lead to the problem of relativism?', 'Is there any superaculture norms?', and 'Are all claims to knowledge including knowledge of God so culturally determined that there is no criterion of truth?'. Our study of the PCT's pastoral theology (in I-3) and what GOH do for the girl prostitutes perhaps can provide answers for these questions. Newbigin, p. 100.

¹¹ Li, "Pastoral Theology in the Context of Taiwan since the End of the Second World War", section II-2-C and II-1-(1).

prostitutes (IV-3.5 and IV-3.9)

In other words, the GOH identified with the girl prostitutes' problems and their difficulties in getting out of life at brothels and re-starting a new life in society. However, the GOH's identification with the girl prostitutes does not end with sympathy; rather, they accompany the girl prostitutes "to go the second mile", namely to walk toward their recovery (Ch. IV. A Long Journey toward Recovery--In the Half Way House).

V-2.1.6. Such a pastoral theology in its pastoral perspectives will not be static. It will need to adjust itself from time to time out of an awareness of the needs of people.

To use Lyall's expression, the practice of pastoral care in a specific context is an on-going activity of the church in the light of its own praxis.¹² The PCT's judgment of the socio-political situation was that before 1987 the need of the Taiwanese was to learn the righteousness of God's demand, between 1987 and 1996 to seek spiritual guidance for members of the community of faith and to help form an opposition party, but after 1996 the need was more for social welfare work of loving kindness and generous offering combined with open children's programs on Saturday.¹³

After the PCT's efforts in Taiwan society after the Second World War, the GOH's staff knew how to challenge government authority for the sake of the girl prostitutes (III-3.2). And yet, after the juridical regulations had been amended (III-4.1.2. and III-4.1.5), GOH also adjusted its policies to meet the new situations that the girl prostitutes face and focus more on how to accompany those girls' walk on their long journey toward recovery (IV-3.1 to IV-3.10). It also means that before the girls can live independently. GOH also needs to know how to strike a balance between love and discipline at GOH's halfway house (IV-3.10). Furthermore, it has also made an effort to change the public ideologies that make the girls objects in the society of Taiwan as it was shown in the fact that the GOH promoted Hotel Association to swear allegiance to "Anti-child Prostitution Movement (1993, 12)" and made the child prostitution problem reach the annual top ten social welfare news (1993, 12) (IV-3.11). So GOH's pastoral caring activities are not static but are adjusted from time to time in the attempt to help the girl prostitutes as much as possible.

¹² Lyall, *Integrity of Pastoral Care*, p. 35.

¹³ Li, "Pastoral Theology in the Context of Taiwan since the End of the Second World War", Section II-2.

V-2.1.7. *There is a future-oriented factor in a pastoral theology*

Patton comments that one of the essences of pastoral theology is to bounce between theological reflection and practice in real life. With such a continual check on theological reflection by experiencing the practice and then returning to check the theology, the church will advance, ever ready to search for new ways which are more faithful to the will of God.¹⁴ As we mentioned in chapter I, the need for analysis and checking is not only for the sake of adjustment to the community, but also for the future modification and development of pastoral theology. In terms of making a change, there is need for democratic administrative guidance (i.e. not dominating the ones guided), recognition of the different gifts and weaknesses of individual churches and of their willingness to make changes. To change does not necessarily mean to grow. But to change is the cost of growth.¹⁵ An open mind is necessary for a growing church. All the above characteristics of a future oriented pastoral theology we have seen in the different stages of the PCT's development.¹⁶ From the PCT's pastoral theology we have seen how they adjust their caring activities from time to time according to the changes of their macro society surroundings.

As for the case of GOH's caring activities for the girl prostitutes, the "future-oriented" factor is more obvious in its hope to lead the girl prostitutes toward a brighter future, to live a normal life as the other girls in their age do in the society of Taiwan (IV-3.10 and conclusion of IV). Furthermore, GOH keeps on looking forward to challenge Taiwanese society with new concepts such as campaign for a "Daughters' Day" to promote a more equal view of the status of women and daughters in the Taiwanese family (IV-3.11).¹⁷

To conclude this section, we drew the above basic principles of the contextualisation of the pastoral theology in Taiwan from the exploration of the PCT's pastoral theology after the end of the Second World War, "Let all the glory be to God". From the above

¹⁴ John Patton, *Pastoral Care in Context: An Introduction to Pastoral Care* (Westminster: John Knox Press, 1989), p. 238.

¹⁵ Edmer Towns, *10 of Today's Most Innovative Churches* (創新與增長: 美國十大創新增長教會) (Taipei: Tian Ng, 1993), p. 21. We have addressed these points in chapter I. Here we refresh readers memory for the sake of comparison between what the PCT and the GOH have done. Regarding the process of making a change in a society, we will have a more detailed discussion in section V-3.3.11.

¹⁶ In particular the period from 1965 to 1987. Please also reference Li, "Pastoral Theology in the Context of Taiwan since the End of the Second World War", chapter II.

¹⁷ Interview with chaplain of GOH. The meaning of promoting a "daughter's day" is to emphasize the value of a daughter in a family is no less than a son.

exploration we notice that GOH's caring activities for the girl prostitutes, namely dealing with the oppressing powers in their power relationships, can also be applied to the above principles of a pastoral theology.

The Presbyterian Churches in Taiwan, because of their circumstances, were forced to practise their pastoral theology in a collective sense, and to adjust rapidly to very different social contexts in the development of their history. Their social and political developments were matched by the development of their pastoral theology (I-3). In chapter I we also analysed how the pastoral practice of the PCT was not random, but was based on the insights they gained from investigating their specific social and political situation in history in this chapter.

While the Presbyterian churches in Taiwan, through their theological convictions, "Let all the glory be to God", continue to care for the Taiwanese people, GOH on the other hand targeted a specific group of people, girl prostitutes, to provide pastoral care. From the above analysis we have seen that GOH's caring for the girl prostitutes also fits these basic principles of being "pastoral". Next we will examine how the GOH's caring activities for the girl prostitutes have the characteristics of "power struggle".

V-3. GOH's Pastoral Caring Activities for the Girl prostitutes have the Characteristics of Constant Power Struggle

In chapter III and IV we have explored how GOH's caring for the girl prostitutes relates to issues of power. In the previous section, we have also examined how these caring activities are pastoral in their nature (V-2.1 to V-2.7). In this section we want to further discuss how GOH's caring activities for the girl prostitutes have the characteristics of constant power struggle. In other words, we want to examine in this section the GOH's caring activities for the girl prostitutes as (1) not only involving issues of power as explored in chapter II, but (2) also being in the processes of struggle and (3) not a once for all but constant process. In the following we need to explore first the meaning of the term "struggle" as this is a concept we have not explored yet in this thesis.

V-3.1. The Concept and Meaning of "Struggle" in Sociological Studies

V-3.1.1. The meaning of "struggle" in the contemporary sense is wider than only in the field of politics or economics.

The word "struggle" is a sensitive term since Marxists used it in their major notion of "class struggle". This was originally represented by Karl Marx as the motivating force of history; for example the transition from feudalism to capitalism was because of a struggle between the land owners of aristocracy and a rising capitalist bourgeoisie.¹⁸ However, since it is difficult to decide what can be counted as evidence specifically for the struggle between classes in contemporary societies, the meaning of class struggle has been used more widely to refer to not only conflict for economic reasons but also conflicts in politics and other fields.

Duke also notices that societies may differ, but the struggle of people in their social life for their existence and different kinds of rewards, values and ideologies is the same.

Much of social life can be viewed as a competitive struggle among individuals for social rewards, including economic rewards, status, erotic gratification and power over others. Society differs in their degree of competitiveness, but even in relatively noncompetitive

¹⁸The Penguin Dictionary of Sociology, p. 40, "Class Struggle".

societies, many of the daily activities and much of the culture is oriented toward the competitive struggle for existence.¹⁹

V-3.1.2. Society may differ in the degrees of competition, but struggles often happen when there are conflicting interests of different kinds and the will to power over others

According to Weber, people in their social life are unavoidably in the situation of struggle. Those struggles can be to change their living circumstances or compete for scarce resources.²⁰

In our previous discussion of resistance and punishment we also mentioned that in any situation of conflicting interests, values, and ideologies in a power relationship, there are involved processes of struggle, struggling for scarce resources (II-5). Here we quote the passage again just as a reminder:

Conflict is ... a struggle over values and claims to scarce status, power and resources in which the aims of the opponents are to neutralize, injure or eliminate their rivals.²¹

V-3.1.3. The identities of the parties involved in the struggle determine the type of struggle

Furthermore, the identities of people involved in the struggles also vary, not necessarily limited by "classes." For instance, in the economic field, the struggles can be manifested in wage bargaining by way of strikes or absenteeism. In the political field, the struggle can be for the reform of any regulations or legislation such as trade union law, the maintenance of the welfare state and economic policy.²²

V-3.1.4. The apparent social phenomenon is the outcome of struggles that involve factors of strategies, condition and means

In discussing power relationships, we mentioned that Hindess emphasizes the processes of struggle in a power relationship and asserts that its result is the outcome

¹⁹ Duke, p. 45.

²⁰ Max Weber, *Economy and Society*, vol. 1 (New York: Bedminster Press, 1968), p. 38-40.

²¹ Quoted from Blalock, p. 8.

²² Ibid., p. 40.

of such processes of struggle. For Hindess, power is not exactly a “capacity” to influence, rather it also needs tactical strategies and struggle, which involve the consideration of the constitution of agent and other forces, the conditions of formation of objectives, means of action and possible strategies, and so on. In other words, according to Hindess, what is presented in any power relationship is *the result* after struggle.²³

The starting point of this paper was the need to take seriously the practices of agents and struggles between them... it also means taking seriously the central feature of struggles between agents with different and conflicting objectives, namely, that outcomes are produced in the course of struggles...²⁴

Hindess is against the oversimplification of attributing every outcome of agents' works as accruing from the operation of “powers” and neglecting the process of striving for the “interests” of the opponents, namely, the processes of power struggles. The outcome which appears in the end cannot be simply attributed to the fact that the entity holds “power”, but success in deploying resources and methods needs to be considered.²⁵

Agents may be more or less successful in their attempts to exercise control, realize their will, or whatever. They are successful to the extent that they overcome various obstacles and resistances. In that sense, the exercise of control, realization of one' will, or whatever, presupposes no *capacity* to do so. It is rather a matter of the successful deployment of resources and means of action in the context of particular conditions of struggle, not all of which are in the hands of the agent in question.

Therefore, according to Hindess, when power is exercised, there is a “battle” or struggle in it. The process of struggle is important in terms of what kind of outcome will be shown.

In conclusion, no matter from what perspective the above authors addressed “power

²³ Barry Hindess, “Power, Interests and the Outcomes of Struggles” in *Sociology*, vol. 16, no. 4, Nov. 1982, pp. 498-512, p. 509.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 509.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 510.

relationships”, there seems a common factor in their discussion: when we come to the issue of power and the conflict of interests, whether it is in the collective domain or in interpersonal relationships, there is essentially a struggle in them.²⁶

V-3.1.5. According to Foucault, the struggle in a power relationship is mainly to be against various objectification

Indeed in Foucault’s writing he is also aware of the intrinsic and disguised nature of power struggle; the difference is only in his use of the terms. Foucault uses the concepts of the deployment of “politics”, “techniques” or “technology” by the agents involved in a power relationship,²⁷ to implicitly denote the same meaning as “power struggle”. What Foucault means by the above terms is that in the agents’ deploying of strategies, the strife of self-interests by all kinds of politics, techniques etc., there has been a power struggle going on.²⁸

On the other hand, according to Foucault in one of his interviews, power struggles happen constantly as people have striven against any kinds of objectification of human beings including the objectification of the self in their power relationships (II-6, “power and women”). The processes against various objectifications, such as the objectification of women and young girls as prostitutes (III-1 and III-3), and the girls’ objectification of the self by using their own bodies to make money through commercial sexual transactions, are indeed ongoing power struggles between the parties involved in power relationships (III-1 and III-3.6).

From the above discussion, we can draw a conclusion about what we mean by “struggle”: it has a broader meaning than one limited to the economic field. It means all the efforts made by the pastoral care giver to help people they care for in the various fields of their struggles for what they need in life such as seeking to change their circumstances or to gain some economical reward. Or in a more general sense, by “struggle” in this thesis we mean the process of resolving difficulties encountered in the pastoral care provider’s efforts to help people in their striving for their existence.

²⁶Weber, *Economy and Society*, vol. 1, p. 224; Anthony Giddens, *New Rules of Sociological Method* (London Hutchinson, 1976), p. 127; Hindess, “Power, Interest and the Outcome of Struggles”, p. 498.

²⁷ Michel Foucault, “The Political Technology of Individuals” in James D. Faubion, (ed.), *Power* (London: Penguin books, 2000), 403-417.

²⁸ Michel Foucault, *Power: Essential Works of Foucault 1954-1984* (New York: Penguin Putnam, 2002), pp. 111-134, “Truth and Power” and pp. 403-417, “The Political Technology of Individuals”.

To apply the above concepts of struggle to what GOH does for the girl prostitutes, we can say that the struggle GOH goes through is with the power issues in the girl prostitutes' lives (V-3.1.). There is a struggle because the welfare of the girls is conflicting with the interests of the pimps (V-3.2.). Another reason for the GOH's struggle is to be against the objectification that Taiwan society imposes on the girls (V-3.1.5.). The establishment of the half way homes is one of the outcomes of the struggles the GOH goes through for the sake of the girl prostitutes (V-3.1.4).

After exploring what struggles mean in sociological studies, and how the GOH's caring activities for the girl prostitutes relate to those concepts of struggle, next we are going to identify further the characteristics of the powers in the power struggles that the GOH faces while providing the pastoral caring activities for the girl prostitutes.

V-3.2. The Characteristics of Power in a Pastoral Care Provider's Power Struggle

V-3.2.1 The definition of power adopted in this thesis mainly based on Percy's definition of power

In this thesis we have adopted Percy's definition of power in the discussion of chapters two, three and four. According to Percy's definition, power is an existing reality, and a kind of force or capacity that can function through agencies such as people, doctrines, and situations. More important is such an existing reality of force in human relationship that can be shown in people's disposition, in the events happened, and in the function of social systems such as the government of a nation or an institution.

To refresh our reader's memory we now quote Percy's definition of power again for convenience in our continuing discussion.²⁹

Power is a multi-faceted reality... It is the force that applies itself through and reifies itself via agents (tools). It can be dispositional, in the forms of ideas, manners, boding and unity. It can also be episodic, in the forms of specific instances, interventions and moments. It is a phenomenon present within all epistemological and social frameworks,

²⁹ In II-1, see p. 50 above.

usually encountered via its agents rather than the source itself. Apart from the power of God, power is a function of systems of social interaction; power is one of the important means of social organization... Agents can be people, instances, doctrines, situations, and so on...³⁰

The other characteristics of power in a power relationship, which we have gathered from sociological studies on the issue of power, applied to the context of Taiwan and integrated with the stories of people in the Bible and the caring activities of GOH in the society of Taiwan, can be as follows:

*V-3.2.2. There are positive and negative functions of power. It means that in many situations power can be used in either way, namely, positively to enable or negatively to coerce, approved by society or not, and legitimately or illegitimately.*³¹

It means that an ethical evaluation is involved in distinguishing whether power is used positively or negatively.³² For instance, in maintaining the social system and advancing conflicting collective interests within the system power needs to be used in a certain degree.³³ And what GOH does for the girl prostitutes is for the girls' benefit, therefore GOH's use of power can be deemed as positive (Ch. III-4.1 to III-4.9 and IV-3.1 to IV-3.10). On the other hand, as for the parents who sold their own daughters to be prostitutes, their powers are abused (III-3.3). Foucault in a statement reminds his reader that power has both positive and negative functions:

We must cease once and for all to describe the effect of power in negative terms: it 'excludes', it 'represses', it 'censors', it 'abstracts', it 'marks', it 'conceals'. In fact, power produces; it produces reality; it produces domains of objects and rituals of truth. The individual and the knowledge that may be gained of him belong to this production.³⁴

³⁰ Percy, *Power and the Church*, p. 73.

³¹ Duke, *Conflict and Power in Social Life*, p.41-42, 51.

³² Lips, *Women, Men, & Psychology of Power*, p. 11.

³³ Lukes, *Power*, p. 4, 17.

³⁴ Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: the Birth of the Prison*, (New York: First Vintage Books, 1979), p.194.

V-3.2.3. The subtlety of power rests upon the uncertainty of how and when it will be used.

Power is everywhere in human relationship, but its effect only shows when the power is exercised over the powerless. In human society power can only be shown in human relationships and through a mechanical system of an institution or organization. However, the way in which power is exercised in human relationship can vary; tone of voice, attitude or body gesture toward a person or issue, etc., all possibly convey or hint at a kind of power relationship among the persons involved. "Power has its principle not so much in a person as in a certain concerted distribution of bodies, surfaces, lights, gazes..."³⁵

The staff of the GOH understands these characteristics of power so that in their discipline of the girls in the half way home, they are very cautious to let the girls have their subjective choice instead of domineering them (IV-3.5).

*V-3.2.4. Anything can give "power over" others as long as it gives one person or group a degree of control over what others want or need. Therefore, it can be ownership of the means of production, income, status of honour, sacramental and magical capacities, skills or knowledge, charisma, etc.*³⁶

Robert Dahl provides a very comprehensive and particularized list of resources for influencing others:

An individual's own time; access to money, credit, and wealth; control over information; esteem or social standing; the possession of charisma, popularity, legitimacy, legality; ... the rights pertaining to public office...; solidarity: the capacity of a member of one segment of society to evoke support from... the right to vote, intelligence, education, and perhaps even one's energy level.³⁷

In our case study of GOH's pastoral caring for the girl prostitutes, we can see how the government officer, the police, pimps, parents, customers, even the house mothers of

³⁵ Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, p. 202.

³⁶ Percy, p. 73 and *The International Encyclopedia of Sociology*, p. 300.

³⁷ Robert A. Dahl, *Who Governs? Democracy and Power in an American City* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1961), p. 226; regarding resources of power please see also Harold Lasswell and Abraham Kaplan, *Power and Society* (New Haven: Yale University press, 1950), pp. 83-92.

the halfway house of GOH, all have “a certain degree of control” over the girl prostitutes in one way or another (III-3.1 to III-3.5). So, we can see why the girl prostitutes are “the powerless”. In many perspectives, they are “powered over” by others.

V-3.2.5. Power in its existence is potential and relational. It means that only when it is exercised in a relationship the effect can be seen.

The quotations below show us how the sociologists think about power as potential capacity in human relationships. In *The Penguin Dictionary of Sociology*, power is described as “the possibility that a person in a social relationship will be able to carry out his or her own will in the pursuit of goals of action, regardless of resistance.”³⁸ While in *The International Encyclopedia of Sociology* power is addressed from the perspective of functioning in a relationship: “It is meaningless to say that a person or a group ‘has power’ without specifying in relation to which people or groups they have it and what enables them to do.”³⁹ Wrong confirms one of the characteristics of power as “relational”: “Power is always relational.”⁴⁰

From our discussion of the powers we also see that the power holders can control the girl prostitutes only when they have some sort of relationship with these girls such as being their parents (III-3.3), the officers of their government (III-4.1 to III-4.5), and the social welfare institutions that provide pastoral care for them (IV-3).

*V-3.2.6. The effectiveness of using resources for power over others (whatever they are) is contextual.*⁴¹

What resource will have the greatest effect to achieve the aim that the power exerciser desires depends on the context in which the resources are used. For instance, in general, as Duke illustrates from the example of primitive society,

Ownership of the means of production is less significant in a hunting gathering society than in a capitalist society, while control over

³⁸ *The Penguin Dictionary of Sociology*, p. 192. This definition is mainly drawn from Weber’s concept of power.

³⁹ *The International Encyclopedia of Sociology*, p.300.

⁴⁰ Dennis H. Wrong, *Power* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1979), p. 125. Wrong’s point of view for such a saying is that human relationship is the base for the exercise of power.

⁴¹ Raymond Boudon and Francois Bourricaud, *A Critical Dictionary of Sociology*, selected and translated by Peter Hamilton, (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1986), p. 270.

sacramental or magical rites is less significant in modern industrial societies than in many pre-industrial societies.⁴²

In the case of the girl prostitutes, their parents may have had power over them before juvenile law was amended. But after the regulations were amended, their parents, if judged to be inadequate guardians, must hand over their guardian power to the institutions entrusted with social welfare by the government, such as GOH, to let the institution take care of their children. Therefore, even though the power holder has the power such as parental power over their children, how effectively that power is exercised still depends on the macro social living context, and the other factors prevalent in the society. The exercise of power is therefore contextual.

V-3.2.7. Its exercise is a dynamic social process.

The exercise of power in human relationship is a continual process in terms of the strategies adopted and how the respondent reacts upon it.⁴³ It is a phenomenon of the interaction in a relationship: "Power is a general social relation ...can only be understood in relation to a situation and not in the absolute."⁴⁴

The characteristics of "being dynamic" can be seen from the strategies that GOH take to meet the girl prostitutes' needs. For instance, GOH, as a pastoral care provider for the girl prostitutes, resists the inadequacy of government facilities for their rehabilitation by providing three types of halfway houses for the girl prostitutes in their different stages of recovery (IV-3.1). On the other hand, GOH resists the past undisciplined lifestyles of the girls by giving them clear and yet firm regulations for living together in the halfway house (IV-3.3 and IV-3.5). Since at different stage of caring to care for the needed needs to have different strategies, the caring is therefore a dynamic interaction in the society and should not be absolutised.

V-3.2.8. Whether the power is exercised positively or negatively in a power relationship, at least two things are at stake: (a) the way the power holder executes their undertaking or responsibility; (b) how the resulting benefits are shared by the parties involved or how the product resulting from the power relationship is

⁴² Ibid., p. 300.

⁴³ *The International Encyclopedia of Sociology*, P. 300; *A Critical Dictionary of Sociology*, p. 267.

⁴⁴ Ibid, p. 269-70.

*distributed.*⁴⁵

In chapter three we have explored how the girl prostitutes were confined at a small room to do the commercial sexual transactions all day long, but what they earned mostly were taken by the pimps. The pimps did not give much freedom to the girl prostitutes, neither did they share the benefits the girls earned with the girls (III-3.7). However, in the halfway home, GOH disciplines the girls in a way that allows them to have subjective choice whether they want to continue to stay at the house or not (IV-3.9). As for the money GOH applied from the government for each girl's case entrusted by the government, most of those money are used for the girls' own living expenses and education (IV-3.2). From these examples of how the pimp and GOH exercise their power and distribute the benefit they can get for the sake of the girls, we can then judge that the pimps exercise their power negatively and GOH positively.

*V-3.2.9. If someone's intentions and wants are regularly subverted, they are powerless.*⁴⁶

Lukes very ably defines "what the powerless are". In any human relationship, be it a relationship between husband and wife, teacher and the students, pastoral care provider and the cared, if anyone of the parties in their relationship constantly needs to subject their will to the other parties, then those under subjection are the powerless ones. According to this definition, it is obvious that the girl prostitutes are powerless in their relationship with their parents, with the pimps at the brothel, and with the police. What these girls want for themselves is a normal life and not be subjected to these people's (parents', pimps', etc.) will and self interests (III-3.1 to III-3.5). The situation of the girl prostitutes' subjection of their wills can be seen more clearly from the chart we have drawn in section V-3.3.12, in which their power relationships are expressed. In section V-3.3.12 we will further discuss how the prostituted girls were powered over by others in their relationships.

*V-3.2.10. In many occasions the balance of power is asymmetrical, but it does not mean that the less powerful ones cannot resist.*⁴⁷ *The resistance may not be effective*

⁴⁵ *A Critical Dictionary of Sociology*, pp. 270-271.

⁴⁶ Lukes, *Power*, p. 4, 17.

⁴⁷ Duke, pp. 41-42; some of the literatures that Duke referenced are: Arnold M. Rose, *The Power Structure* (New York: Oxford, 1967), pp. 43-86; Marvin E. Olsen, ed., *Power in Societies* (New York: MacMillan, 1970), pp. 2-10, "Power as a Social Process"; Robert A. Dahl, "Power", in *International*

*in terms of the aim of resistance, but it is always reciprocal when there is the use of power.*⁴⁸

While it is the case that having power over some individuals or groups is to have some control over whatever they desire, however, this does not mean that the object does not have potential power against that control even though the balance of power may not be equal.⁴⁹ “Power is exercised over other individuals and may involve resistance and conflict.”⁵⁰ As Foucault also stated that “Wherever there is power, there is resistance.”⁵¹

Lips uses examples from the daily life of a family to illustrate that even a little child can have power of resistance in relation to their parents:

It is important to remember that, in any interaction, *both* parties have some control over each other's outcomes. Thus one person can never have complete or ultimate control over another. In the parent-child example, for instance, although parents may control access to dessert, toys... the child controls certain outcomes for the parent. By being slow, stubborn... the child has the capacity to ruin the parent's dinner and may, therefore, greatly increase the costs to the parent of insisting that the vegetables be eaten.⁵²

It is this characteristic of the power of resistance that a pastoral care provider tries to provide for the ones they care. From our studies in II-5.5, one way to examine where it is that the power is not exercised positively is to see where the resistance is.⁵³ The powerless may not have the capacity to effectively resist the powers that oppress them but the pastoral care provider can examine where the resistances are and then pinpoint them in order to provide the power of resistance to balance the domineering powers.

Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, vol. 12, pp. 405-15; Harold D. Lasswell and Abraham Kaplan, *Power and Society: A Framework for Political Inquiry* (New haven: Yale University Press, 1950).

⁴⁸ Duke, p. 41-42.

⁴⁹ Denith H. Wrong, *Power* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1979), p. 300.

⁵⁰ *The Penguin Dictionary of Sociology*, P. 192

⁵¹ Foucault, we have quoted in the section of II-5 on “punishment and resistance”. As for the more detailed explanation of the meaning of this quotation, please reference II-5. Here we only quote for emphasis.

⁵² Lips, p. 46.

⁵³ Ref. II-5.5. of this thesis.

In the case of GOH, the power of resistance that they provide for the sake of the girl prostitutes varies depending on what and where the girls' oppressed situations were. If the oppression came from pimps or parents, GOH will resort to governmental laws to confine them (III-4.2), and if the need of the girls is with respect to education (IV-3.9), GOH will look for tutors to help them. However, the girls can resist by not taking the arrangement of GOH for them (III-4.1). The exercise of power is always reciprocal, that is, "where there is power, there is resistance" as Foucault asserts so clearly.

V-3.2.11. The exercise of power is mainly to affect behaviour (towards the direction the powerful wants) but how far the purpose is achieved depends on the result of resistance.

The powerful may want the powered to go along the direction they like, but the powered can always find ways to resist as we have explained in the previous section. Even though the purpose of resistance may not be fully realized in an act of resistance, nevertheless, it will somehow hinder the progress of the exercise of power. For instance, the GOH, in caring for the prostitute girls, has power to discipline the girls and guide them toward the path of recovery. But there are some resistances from the girls themselves which may prove difficult for discipline to be carried out in the short term. These resistances arise from their habits of living which are formed within the context of their dysfunctional families (IV-3.5.1 to IV-3.5.3). Furthermore, in the case of running away from halfway home, the resistance displayed obviously influences the result of the power used in caring for them (IV-3.10).

V-3.2.12. Legitimacy can make the use of power more justified, but also becomes the restriction of that power.

Weber uses this notion widely, and it seems that for him there is no lasting domination without minimal legitimacy.⁵⁴ In *A Critical Dictionary of Sociology*, legitimate power is described as originating from the agreement of a certain group of people:

⁵⁴ Raymond Boudon and François Bourricaud, *A Critical Dictionary of Sociology*, selected and translated by Peter Hamilton, (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1986), p. 269.

Power which is able to have its decisions accepted as well as justified...
a power whose directives are adhered to, or at least agreed to by those
they are intended for.⁵⁵

But legitimacy also confines or circumscribes the scope within which power holders are able to exercise their power. It means that if the power is granted by the public, then it is exercised for the welfare of the public and not for the self interests of the power holder.

Whatever the modalities of power, its exercise is subject to certain conditions which in effect limit the action of those who are involved. In particular in the collective domain, those who have power because of the agreement of the public in their exercise of power they are obliged to justify their actions by the claim that power is not arbitrary and is not exercised exclusively for the interest of its holder.⁵⁶

The designation of legitimate power is meant for the common good and not just for the self interests of the power holder. Therefore, if the power holder does not fulfil such a purpose, the legitimacy of the power holder in the exercise of power will be questioned.⁵⁷ The story of the Presbyterian Churches in Taiwan that we have examined in Chapter I is a case in point. After the end of the Second World War, Taiwan's KMP government failed to protect the lives of Taiwanese. Their legitimacy for ruling Taiwan was consequently called into question by many Taiwanese and after years of protest initiated by the PCT, they were finally overruled (I-3.3 and I-3.4).⁵⁸

Another case in point is that of the girl prostitutes. When the regulations of juvenile law were amended so as to legalise the requirement for the police to send the girl prostitutes who were caught to be observed before they were sent home to their parents, many of the girl prostitutes would then have more opportunities to be under the protection of the Taiwanese government. Hence, the legitimacy entitled the office holders, i.e. the police, to exercise their powers for the protection of those under their charge (III-4.1 to III-4.3).

⁵⁵ Ibid., P. 269.

⁵⁶ *A Critical Dictionary of Sociology*, p. 271.

⁵⁷ *The Penguin Dictionary of Sociology*. P. 193.

⁵⁸ See also Li, "The Pastoral Theology of the Presbyterian Churches in Taiwan after the end of the Second World War", M.Th. dissertation, (Edinburgh: New College, 2002), Ch. 1.

For the above analysis (V-3.2.1 to V-3.2.12), we can see that power in pastoral caring relationship also has its complexity in its characteristics. One of Foucault's statements on power can give a general description for such a complexity as a whole.

Power must be understood in the first instance *as the multiplicity of force relations* immanent in the sphere in which they operate and which constitute their own organization; *as the process* which, through ceaseless struggles and confrontations, transforms, strengthens, or reverses them; *as the support* which these force relations find in one another, thus forming a chain or a system, or on the contrary, *the disjunctions and contradictions* which isolate them from one another; and lastly *as the strategies* in which they take effect whose general design or institutional crystallization is embodied *in the state apparatus, in the formulation of the law, and in the various social hegemonies.*⁵⁹

V-3.3. GOH's Pastoral Caring Activities for the Girl prostitutes are in the Processes of Constant Power Struggles

We have analyzed GOH's caring activities for the girl prostitutes as pastoral in nature and relating to issues of power (V-2.1 to V-2.7). We have also addressed in the previous section, how GOH's caring activities for the girl prostitutes relate to the complexity of the issues of power and have shown various characteristics of power in human power relationships (V-3.2.1 to V-3.2.12). In this section, we want to go on to argue that GOH's pastoral caring activities for the girl prostitutes are in the processes of constant power struggles.

V-3.3.1. The role of a pastoral car provider in a power struggle is like Weber's concept of charismatic leaders (who very often bring changes into society)

As far as this thesis is concerned, the pastoral role of a pastoral care giver in the process of power struggle is more or less that of Weber's leaders with charisma. The charismatic leader, as we have addressed in II-2, is an important figure in the use of power. These leaders are suppose to have some sort of capacities indicated either by a

⁵⁹ Michel Foucault, *History of Sexuality*, trans. Robert Hurley (London: Penguin, 1981), vol. 1, pp. 93-94. Here we make some parts of his statement in italic to emphasize those points.

“sign” like the performance of miracles or by special characteristics to convince followers of their leadership, and therefore have access to the control of power resources: “... charisma... takes the form of the appropriation of powers of control and of economic advantages by the followers or disciples.”⁶⁰

The possibility that a pastoral care provider can function as a charismatic leader has two meanings. First, it means that in general, the pastoral care giver has been given a privileged position in the church like the charismatic leaders in relation to their followers. Secondly, it means that when power is misused, such as the case of the oppressed or when falsely propagated rationality or ideology is used to control the obedience of the people (ref. II-2, 3), a pastoral care provider is taught by the norm of their teaching, the Bible, to intervene.⁶¹ The process of intervention is usually a process of struggle because the intervention challenges the prevailing concepts or brings change to an existing situation in a society that usually opposes both traditional and rational exercise of authority.⁶² Duke echoes Weber’s concept of the function of a charismatic leader:

Charisma was regarded by Weber as a cardinal revolutionary force. Throughout his works, especially his writings on religion, he referred to religious and political leaders who were able to bring change to their societies through the exercise of charismatic authority. All the great prophets of ancient Israel possessed charisma, as did all of the great revolutionary political leaders...

While Weber often explained social change as being caused by the workings of general processes (such as the process of rationalization in the West), he just as frequently spoke of it as resulting from the actions of charismatic leaders and their followers.⁶³

In our case study, GOH has functioned as a charismatic leader in the society of Taiwan as described above. They enlightened the public in Taiwan about the powerless situation of the girl prostitutes on how they were abused by the powers of their parents, pimps and customers, etc. They campaign for a change in the girl prostitutes’

⁶⁰ Weber, *The Theory of Social and Economic Organization*, p. 367.

⁶¹ Such as the passage that inspired Angie Golman to start the ministry for the girl prostitutes, Micah 6: 6.

⁶² Weber, *Economy and Society*, p. 242, Duke, p. 53.

⁶³ Duke, p. 54.

oppressed situation and further equality of women in the Taiwanese family, etc.

V-3.3.2. It is for the powerless or the persons cared for that the pastoral care provider intervenes into the power struggles of their power relationships as the third party

In the previous section, “The characteristics of power in a power struggle”, we have explored the notion that “if someone’s own will is often subverted, he/she is the powerless.” The powerless need to subject their wills and intentions to others because they do not have enough resources of power to counter the powers that oppress them. For people who are outside the context of conflicting interests, it may be easy to tell the powerless party to tolerate their oppressed condition or to comply. Nevertheless, to a pastoral care provider, the point at which the oppressed is suffering and which the powerless are oppressed is the exact point where a pastoral care provider can intervene as the third party to provide the power of resistance to help the powerless to resist their oppressed context.⁶⁴

Between indulging in the oppressing power and encouraging the oppressed to resist that power and then to be crushed by it because of the incompatible capacity of the latter, there should be, we believe, a third way of acting. It is the intervention of the third party. This third party provides the necessary power for resistance against the overwhelming confining power of the governmental law (III-3.2), the power of economic consumption (III-4.3), the power of inner habit (IV-2.1), and the possible domineering power of the caring institution itself (IV-7 to IV-10) as we have seen from GOH’s example of providing various powers of resistance for the girl prostitutes.

Therefore, to intervene in an oppressive power relationship for the sake of the powerless is a way that pastoral care providers show their loving care. In our case study of GOH and the girl prostitutes, while the girls were oppressed by various powers in their power relationships and had no capacity to resist for the time being, GOH took the initiative to intervene in their oppressed situation as the third party in the girl prostitutes’ power relationships as we have explored in chapters III and IV and described above. But no matter what power the pastoral care provider is going to resist, it is a long process of struggle toward a transformation of the oppressive situations for the ones under their care. We will continue to explore this point further.

V-3.3.3. The intervention of the pastoral care provider in a power struggle can start by enlightening the parties concerned about the implicit or disguised mechanisms that pave the way for the domineering power to be exercised

No matter whether it is because of falsely imposed ideologies or justification by the powerful, the masses may not be able to criticize. It is then the task of a pastoral care giver to provide a critical alternative view or value system through the analyses of the living context in society. The rationality gained through the critical assessment of the living circumstances can enlighten the masses to realize where they are and what they have become. Once the masses are aware of how they have been influenced, the way can be paved for change as Wrong observes:

The elimination of the present order is obviously possible and with a minimum of violence if only the masses, or the relevant classes, would become aware of it and achieve the necessary unity and determination.

We can see such an enlightenment from the story of the PCT. While the KMP government in Taiwan was using the ideology of “preparing to regain control over China” to make the Taiwanese subject themselves to the KMP’s government, the PCT explicitly proclaimed that what should be done was to construct a Taiwanese homeland, not just look toward the country on the other side of the ocean. The PCT’s proclamation paved the way for the democratic revolution in Taiwan in the 1980s (I-3.4.).

V-3.3.4. The power struggle may be for the change of the prevailing ideology

In a power struggle, in order to be able to bring a change into society, the pastoral care provider needs to be able to articulate another ideology to replace the ones that have been prevailing in the society. After the new ideologies are understood and appreciated, the public can follow the line of thinking and values and the change in the society can therefore be oriented.

⁶⁴ Foucault on the concept of resistance, please reference section II-5 of this thesis.

⁶⁵ Wrong, *Power*, p. 195.

V-3.3.5. The pastoral care provider's struggle in the power relationships of the recipients of care is to provide another alternative for the masses so that they can be motivated to act out what they are supposed to do, even though such an alternative may sound impossible for them to reach or beyond their imagination in the first place

The pastoral care provider's intervention through social movements, according to Wrong, is supposed to be in the public interest and through the organized people or groups to protest to the power holding bodies. Nevertheless, before these people can be organized, they need to be motivated to make the effort to do whatever they need to do in a social movement. And if they are indeed motivated, the achievement is far beyond imagination which some scholars call "myth" or "reaching the impossible."

Social movements, of course, are founded on the convergence of ideals and short-run, tangible, usually material, collective interests. Ideal may be necessary to inspire unorganized individuals to make the effort to mobilize and achieve the real if limited gains that result... there is also the myth of revolution that will make all things new... the potency of these myths is not to be doubted.⁶⁶

A way to motivate the public is to find a better alternative to replace the present inadequate or unequal allocation of power. Wrong deems that such a task is upon the shoulders of the sociologist.

It is the task of the sociologist to discern the developmental potentialities inherent in power relations, including tendencies to conflict and dissolution. He also has the broader responsibility of exploring the outer limits of the possible by considering alternative social arrangements that reduce inequalities of power...

But from the perspective of pastoral theology, what Wrong mentions as a sociologist's tasks, namely, to provide better alternatives of acting, are often tasks that a pastoral care provider tries to do. Pastoral care providers, based on the teaching of their faith, such as it is said in one of the passage the chaplain and the chief executive of the GOH

shared during the interview, “We love because God first loves us” (I John 4: 19), often explore possible better alternatives to the present unjust allocations of power resources. In a very broad sense, it means to provide self-interest free ideologies or value systems to motivate and organize the masses to exert their power to rectify their complaints.⁶⁷ Examples can be seen from the GOH’s attempt to organize the public protest against the Taiwan government’s inadequacy of the treatment of the girl prostitutes (III-3, III-4.1) and promoting the “Daughter’s Day” in the society of Taiwan (IV-3.11). In so doing, a pastoral care provider hopes to reveal to the people the full extent of their potential so that they are no longer limited by their beliefs in themselves.

Certainly all historical experience confirms the truth that man (and woman) would not have attained the possible had he (or she) not first reached out for the impossible.⁶⁸

In the story of the PCT, while the majority of the public were subject to whatever ideologies that their government proposed for them, the PCT already discerned what should be changed for the benefit of the Taiwanese. Therefore they proposed three declarations, “Statement on our National Fate” (1971), “Our Plea” (1975) and “A Declaration on Human right” (1977) to assert the subjectivity of the nation in the world (I-3.4).⁶⁹ And in the case of GOH, while the girl prostitutes were still wondering whether they would one day be able to live as normal persons in the society, GOH has provided them with the better alternative of living in the halfway house to learn how to start a new life (IV-3.1 and IV-3.2) and also helps them to envision a better future for themselves (III-3.10).

V-3.3.6. In the process of constant power struggle for the powerless, pastoral care providers also need to be cautious not to abuse the powers they hold

One of the characteristics of power is that it is a dangerous thing to possess because the power holders tend to abuse it. Therefore the pastoral care provider needs to be cautious not to spoil that power.

⁶⁶ Wrong, p. 195.

⁶⁷ By this we mean, according to the chief executive and the chaplain’s description in the interview, they promote the movement is out of their love for God’s people only and that they love is because God first love them. I John 4: 7, 10, 19.

⁶⁸ Weber, *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology* (New York: Oxford University press, 1946), p. 128.

⁶⁹ Li, “The Pastoral Theology of the Presbyterian Churches in Taiwan after the end of the Second World War”, Chapter II. Also, section I-3 of this thesis.

A way to avoid the abuse of power is to give the recipients of care their subjective choice instead of forcing them to comply (II-4 on subjectivity). In other words, the way to care is not to force the cared for to do what the care provider wants but to wait patiently until they can see the goodness of the care provider's intention. Prior to this the cared should have freedom to choose whether they want to comply or not (IV-3.7 and IV-3.8).

To avoid the possibility of the care provider becoming another domineering entity, the attitude of caring is not to say, "You need to do it the way I want, otherwise I won't help...", because it may not be the time yet for the recipient of care to be able to see the goodness of "being helped." We will use GOH's caring activities for the girl prostitutes at the halfway house to illustrate this point. In chapter IV we mentioned that GOH's policy for the girl prostitutes is that other than those who are sentenced by the government to be under the care of GOH, the girls in their first stage of staying at the GOH halfway house can always choose to leave if they do not like to follow the regulations of the halfway home (IV-3.9). Therefore, the girls still have their own subjective choice. They are not forced to stay at the halfway house.⁷⁰ Certainly, with such an open system in the first stage of their stay, some of the girls feel more maladjusted, and the possibility of their leaving will increase. However, in order not to become another dominating entity, GOH deems such a risk as necessary in providing pastoral caring activities for the girl prostitutes.

V-3.3.7. In such a power struggle, the pastoral care provider needs to dare to be viewed as "the deviant" in the society by the official post holder or the public

In the sections on "governmentality" (II-2) and "ideology" (II-3) we have discussed that many norms regarding "right" and "wrong" very often originates from the perspectives of the powerful to protect the status of their domineering power.

Therefore, if a pastoral care provider wants to break up such a domineering situation, they first need to dare not to follow that norm set by the power holder. But in doing so they will unavoidably appear in their society as "deviants" who do not follow "what is right" (the norm).⁷¹ For instance, we have seen from the PCT's political struggle in the society of Taiwan that when it proposed the three declarations for the Taiwanese, it

⁷⁰ Please reference Ch. IV. Regarding to the detailed exploration of the girls' life at half way home of GOH.

⁷¹ Ref. section II-4, "deviant and punishment".

was branded as a betrayer and members were punished by the Taiwanese government (I-3.4). But it is also because of the pastoral care providers' actions that many of the public in the society can eventually be enlightened about what is the "actual right norm" (I-3).

The staff of GOH had seen how the PCT struggled in the society of Taiwan; therefore, in the 1980s, while they needed to be against the objectification of the girls as prostitutes in the society of Taiwan, they did not worry about being deemed as "deviant" in the activities they held against the oppressed situations of the girl prostitutes.⁷²

V-3.3.8. In a power struggle, in order to care for the dominated, the pastoral care provider sometimes needs to be ready to receive punishment by the "legitimate post holder or the legitimate authority" as a non-conformist in the society.

When the power struggle is in relation to the enlightening of the public about the faults of the legitimate authority, the pastoral care provider needs to break up some of the regulations that were usually deemed as "right" and act in ways deemed wrong according to the legitimate regulation. But in so doing, it means that the pastoral care provider has broken the legitimate law and hence may be punished by the authority holder. We can see instances of this from the PCT's story. When the PCT proclaimed the concept of "Independent Taiwan" or "the independence of Taiwan from China" for the benefit of their people but was against KMP's governmental policy, many of the actors in those events were put in jail. This was the pastoral care provider's cost for "speaking what is unspeakable" as we have mentioned in section II-5 regarding the deviant and punishment.

Nevertheless, "daring to be a non-conformist" and hence to be punished is not necessarily in terms of breaking the official law of the government, and the punishment is not necessarily a physical one either. It can also mean "to speak what is not thought of yet and to see what is not yet seen." We can see instances of such cases from some of the pioneer feminists who proclaimed the rights of women in many working fields that were once regarded as the territories of men only. Many of those

⁷² One of the activities the GOH held was to have some girls wearing wedding gown to walk on the street along with some other costumed figures to show that these girls have rights to live a normal married life.

women who dared to assert those prophetic voices or insights have been deemed as “social deviants” and have been punished by being excluded from many social occasions (II-6).⁷³

V-3.3.9. The wills of those cared for count in the pastoral care provider’s helping them in their power struggle.

By this we mean that the attitude of the pastoral provider in a power struggle for the recipients of care is to give them space and freedom to assert their subjectivity. We have an extensive exploration in section II-3 on subjectivity and the main emphasis in that section is that the difference between the use of power to dominate and the use of power in providing pastoral caring activities is in how they allow the powerless to choose what they want or do not want. For instance, even though GOH hopes that the girls who stay at the halfway house will go to Sunday service and learn the Christian faith, this is in no way obligatory but “recommended by the GOH”. If any girl does not want to go she can stay at the house (IV-3.10.2 and IV-3.4.).

Even though on many occasions the staff of GOH may need to use some of their authority to discipline the girls, they use it with sensitivity by blending it with an attitude of loving care. This is akin to what the shepherd does. In looking after the sheep, the shepherd would still need on some occasions to use the rod to direct the sheep in the right path toward home. Therefore the shepherd’s work needs a subtle blend of authority and care.⁷⁴ In caring, discipline is very often necessary but the subjectivity of those cared for cannot be totally neglected either (IV-3.9.1).

One interesting analogy the chaplain mentioned regarding the importance of the subjectivity of the cared is,

For instance, a rich man cannot just come to a poor person’s house and says, ‘I have money to replace all the facilities of your house, so let us just replace all of these facilities.’ What is the problem here in the rich man’s saying so is that those facilities may not be up-to-date, but the poor have been very used to using them, they do not mind the new

⁷³ Regarding feminist movement please reference section II-6 of this thesis.

⁷⁴ Regarding the analogy of the shepherd in pastoral care and theology, please reference D. Tidball, *Skillful Shepherd: Explorations in Pastoral Theology* (Leicester: Apollos, 1997), in particular pp. 45-46.

facilities, they just want their accustomed ones.⁷⁵

This analogy illustrates well the point we want to make about what it means to say that “The subjective decisions of the ones cared count.” From our case study, we can see that giving space for the cared ones’ subjectivity is part of the goal of GOH in their care for the girl prostitutes. GOH seeks to avoid giving the girls the impression that GOH has become another one who abuses its power (IV-3.11).

V-3.3.10. In a power struggle, it is important to know how to use the power of media such as the press or television

One reason for the success of GOH in the area of public knowledge must be attributed to the present chief executive, Ms. Huei Jong Chi, who is a former newspaper reporter. Ms. Chi, because of her previous profession, knows the power of the media very well and she also knows how to use them. She knows how to make news about the girl prostitutes or about GOH's propaganda in a way that is picked up by the public media.

You need to make your news have the characteristics of ‘humanizing’, ‘personalizing’ and ‘dramatizing’ to them.⁷⁶

In terms of campaign publicity, Guild and Guild addresses in particular the way to use all sorts of methods for making the programs known to the public. Even though their focus is on fund raising, nevertheless, the methods of publicity are similar. We quote here the methods they mention:

Campaign publicity is a book-length specialty. It is only possible to say here that the publicity for the financial campaign must be planned well in advance of the opening of the drive and every possible device for humanizing, personalizing, dramatizing. Selling a sound social program should be given attention, including the use of newspaper and magazine articles, special letters, announcements, pamphlets, folders, radio skits and addresses, general and window exhibits, pageants, parades, posters, movie and theatre programs, trailers, slides, campaign buttons, stickers, the ringing of bells to announce the opening and the successful closing of the campaign... symbols of distinction for

⁷⁵ Interviewed from the chaplain of GOH.

⁷⁶ Chi, interview.

successful solicitors, recognition generally of individuals and divisions making the best showings. The campaign publicity must be of a variety calculated to snare the interest and appeal to the personal prejudices of many different kinds of people.⁷⁷

On important occasions such as the celebration of GOH's fifteenth anniversary, they would invite the press and TV news reporters to attend and would prepare beforehand a press release statement for their newspapers, magazines, or TV news channels. One reason why one of their propaganda items, "against the use of girl prostitutes", became one of the top ten news stories of the year (IV-3.11), is because of the emphasis placed on the participation of the mass media and the tactful use of the media's power.

Becoming one of the top ten news items in the country means that the movement "against the use of girl prostitutes" has won the attention of the country. The publicity had placed pressure on the persons concerned such as the pimps, the customers in commercial sexual transactions, and government officials like the police and the legislators. The success in the use of the media's power is one of the major factors that contributed to the public support for GOH's mission to care for the girl prostitutes in Taiwanese society. Therefore, a pastoral care provider's power struggle for the needy cannot neglect the power of the public media.

V-3.3.II. A pastoral care provider's involvement in a power struggle is meant to bring change into the oppressed situation of the individual or society

The pastoral care provider has shown the society that change is possible even though reaching the alternative possibility may be difficult. The social change mentioned by Weber which is caused by charismatic leaders requires the element of struggle (II-2.3) as Duke has pointed out. First, most of time the office holders prefer to remain in the present situation and would not like to change for the sake of their self-interest. Second, it is very difficult to make the majority discern the wrongness of their tradition's ideologies and to challenge them because the majority of people in the society have been following them for a long time. Those mechanisms for the exercise of power which have long been imposed upon the public and have been transmitted by them poses great difficulty (II-2.2, II-2.5 and II-3).⁷⁸ Third, with respect to the habitual

⁷⁷ June Purcell Guild and Authur Alden Guild, *Handbook on Social Engineering: An Outline* (Richmond, Virginia: Whittet and Shepperson, 1936), p. 122.

⁷⁸ Allan Lane, *The History of Sexuality*, Vol. I, (London: Penguin Press, 1977), pp. 92-97; Smart, p. 77. As we mentioned previously that Foucault conceptualizes power neither as an institution nor a structure

behaviours, the individual may have been used to old patterns of behaviours so much so that it is very difficult for them to change even if they are willing, as we have seen in the recovery journey of the girl prostitutes (IV-3.6.2 and 3.6.3).

According to Rees, changing a situation in the individual's life and in society consists of different approaches at different stages which combine with different degrees of violence. In the following we list these stages from the perspective of consensus to conflict:⁷⁹

- (1). Acceptance of the status quo: urging compliance
- (2). Emphasis on cooperation and believing in rational argument
- (3). Beginning of discomfort and raising questions. Writing letters, gathering evidence,
- (4). Seeking outside assistance
- (5). Pressure group politics; towards some collective organization
- (6). Challenge to status quo and articulation of alternatives
- (7). Passive, non-violent resistance
- (8). Creating alternative political organizations
- (9). Emphasis on the value of armed struggle

In our study of GOH's caring activities for the girl prostitutes, Rees's different stages in making changes as stated above, are the processes that GOH needs to go through in the power struggle for the good of the girl prostitutes. (1) GOH did not accept the status quo of the abused parental guardian authority or the government. Neither did they accept the miserable situation of the girl prostitutes as "unchangeable" (III-3.1 to 3.6).⁸⁰ (2) GOH's rationality told them that the situation of the girl prostitutes should not be as it was (III-4.1.). (3) Rather, they felt "uncomfortable" about the oppressed situation of the girl prostitutes. (4) They then "sought cooperative assistance" from other Christians and from the general public in the society of Taiwan (III-4.9). (5) They pressured the legislators in Li Fa Yung who had the power to effect changes in the regulations regarding the treatment of the girl prostitutes (III-4.2). (6) GOH also

but as a "complex strategically situation", as a "multiplicity of force relations", as simultaneously "intentional" yet "non-subjective" which is exercised through all kinds of techniques or tactics. Therefore, he emphasize to pay attention more to "how is power exercised; by what means?", and "what are the effects of the exercise of power?", rather than "what is power and where does come from?" Smart, p. 77. On Foucault's concept of the mechanism in governmentality, please reference section II-2 in this thesis.

⁷⁹ Stuart Rees, *Achieving Power* (Sydney, Australia: Allen & Unwin, 1991), p. 84.

⁸⁰ All the following quotation marks are to show how GOH's actions are in accordance to Rees' description of the stages in making a change in the society.

articulated an alternative way of how the girl prostitutes should be treated (III-4.1. and III-4.4.). (7) They also presented to the girl prostitutes an alternative for how their future could be (lest the girl prostitutes should feel despair for their future) (IV-3.1).

From above description we can tell that the processes of power struggles that GOH had gone through as explored in Chapters III and IV are also the processes of making a change in the girl prostitutes' situation in the society of Taiwan even though the action of GOH has not yet come to the point where they need to resort to what Rees calls, "armed struggle". But the effort GOH made have brought some changes into the girl prostitutes' lives (IV. In the Half Way Home) and the culture of commercial sexual transaction in Taiwan society.⁸¹

V-3.3.12. The way a pastoral care provider intervenes in a power struggle is to provide the power of resistance to balance the dominating or oppressing powers

It is because of Foucault's observation that it is always possible for resistance to exist in a power relationship (ref. II-5) that we propose the concept of a pastoral care giver providing the power of resistance in order to balance an oppressive power relationship. Such a power of resistance can be from a third party that was originally not in that specific power relationship.

The concept of "the balance of power" is to keep a power from being too strong lest the weak be crushed.⁸² From the international political perspective, E. Vattel points out that "the balance of power" is "...an arrangement of affairs so that no state shall be in a position to have absolute mastery and dominate the others."⁸³

The way to prevent a power from dominating is through the shifting of alliances and the principle is to allocate the power resources in a way that allows no single power to get strong enough so as to overwhelm the other party. In other words, no one party's

⁸¹ Though we also know it is not easy to see a significant change in the culture of commercial sexual transaction in Taiwan.

⁸² Michael Sheehan, *Balance of Power: History and Theory* (London: Routledge, 1996), p. 3. The concept of "balance of power" in particular is important in the discussion of international relationship. Even though the object of the address on power balance in political realm is the state, we found it is very helpful for our discussion here, for the power struggle that a pastoral care giver need to involve. Therefore, we adapt those concepts into our present discussion.

⁸³ E. Vattel, *The Law of Nations or Principles of Natural Law Applied to the Conduct and to the Affairs of Nations and Sovereigns*, Charles Fenwick trans., (Carnegie Institution, Washington, D.C., 1916).

independence is allowed to be threatened by economic dominance or personal ambitions.

The balance of power assumes that through shifting alliances and countervailing pressures no one power or combination of powers will be allowed to grow so strong as to threaten the security of the rest.⁸⁴

Even though the dominated ones can resist the oppressing power by saying "no" to the power holders, it may cost them a great deal. Therefore, this is the point at which a pastoral care provider should intervene in the power struggle for the sake of the powerless as instanced by GOH's intervention for the good of the girl prostitutes. The need for a pastoral care provider's intervention is due to the tendency of human beings to abuse the power they have over others and hence the need to always have another power to balance it lest that power becomes a dominating one. Sheehan has pointed this out in relation to international politics.

The different interests of the individual country, which cause no harmony of interests in the world, and human being's capacity for evil and their thirst for power, reinforce the argument for the need for the balance of the power in the international politics.⁸⁵

What Sheehan stated can also apply to GOH's efforts in their power struggle for the girl prostitutes' sake (III-4.1 to III-4.8 and IV-3.1 to IV-3.9). If there were no third party such as GOH that intervened in order to provide the power of resistance for the girl prostitutes when the Taiwanese government was ignorant of the faults in the government policy about their treatment, when parents were abusing their guardian powers, and when the pimps dominated the girl prostitutes, then these girl prostitutes would be powerless to resist all the oppressing powers. Nevertheless, after the GOH intervenes into the girls' power relationship, the power the GOH provide help to balance those domineering oppressing power over the girl prostitutes who live in the halfway home, whether it is from the parents, the government or society.

The pastoral care provider's intervention is as the third party to provide power of resistance to help the cared ones to resist the oppressing powers that power over them. In doing so, the pastoral care provider has becomes a power of resistance to balance

⁸⁴ H. Morgenthau, *Politics among Nations*, 5th edn. (New York: Knopf, 1978), p. 3.

⁸⁵ Michael Sheehan, *Balance of Power: History and Theory* (London: Routledge, 1996), p. 81.

the dominant oppressing powers.⁸⁶

The provision of resources by a pastoral care giver so as to balance the dominating power in a power struggle is done for the benefit of the people cared for. What the PCT did in the 1980s in Taiwan is another example of how a pastoral carer can provide the power of resistance to balance a situation of political domination in Taiwan (I-3.4).⁸⁷

⁸⁶ In the conclusion of this thesis we will draw two diagrams of the power relationships of a prostituted girl before and after living in the halfway house of GOH. The differences or the girl's power relationship between the two diagrams reflect how the pastoral care provider functions in the girl prostitutes' power relationship. Please see points VI and VII of the Conclusion below.

⁸⁷ See I-3 of this thesis.

V-3.3.13. In a power struggle, it is important for a pastoral care provider to have timely access to accurate information.

To have the right information on time is very important in order to know what the power holders are doing and hence to have a power encounter with them if they are not using their power properly. In chapter III we mentioned that when the juvenile regulation was going to be amended, Wan Huei Laing's mother, Chhun Chi Hsu, was then in Li Fa Yun's meeting. She promptly informed the GOH to come to protest to the government in order to make an amendment for the better treatment of P.G. The GOH got the information on time and this was why they could successfully make the government change the regulation.

On the other hand, such a technique has been used skilfully by the dark side as well, e.g. the pimps can often get prompt information from the internal police about the actual time of investigations so that they can remove the girl prostitutes from the place of work. Therefore, if a pastoral care provider wants to balance the power of the dark side, having very good channels of updated information from various fields is necessary.

V-3.3.14. In dealing with the power struggle for the recipients of care the pastoral care provider needs to be careful not to be "bribed by the power holder"

By this we mean that if the pastoral care providers want to carry out their caring activities for the powered, they cannot enjoy too much privileges that the power holder grants to them so as then to become instead, the "power of resistance" to the power holder.

Deals did happen between some police and pimps as we were told by the staff of GOH. Very often before the police actually arrive at the brothel, the pimps at the brothel had already got the information from some personnel within the police office so that they could remove the girls from the scene. But in caring for people in society, a pastoral care provider needs to be very careful not to be corrupted by the benefits they can get from the power holders lest they should lose their objective position as the third party to intervene in the power struggle for the sake of those cared for.

According to the chaplain of the GOH, even after GOH got some funding from the government, they still criticized the inadequate policies of the Taiwanese government. But the way of criticizing may be different from what they previously did.

We still criticize the governmental policy. But the way to criticize is an artistic work. Otherwise the government may give the governmental project or fund to other welfare institutions. Also for the parties that are not the majority in the government offices, we also need to be very careful to keep a good relationship with them in case they will become the governing party in the next election.⁸⁸

The chaplain's words hints at the possibility that should criticisms of the government be too radical, they might not get funding from the government when applied for in competition with other institutions. The Taiwanese government might instead grant funding to other institutions that were not so hostile to it.

However, if a pastoral care provider should fail to criticize the government because of the fear of not getting benefits from the government, then that pastoral care provider may lose their standing as a watchperson/institution in Taiwanese society. In other words, they are in that way, "bribed by the power holder". They will lose both their objectivity as critics of government policies as well as the trust from people in society. So the result of having a mentality of "the transaction of the interest" is very serious.⁸⁹

V-3.3.15. In a power struggle, the pastoral care provider needs wisdom and guidance from "their Boss" of their faith tradition

One of the staff of GOH who is responsible for the payroll responds to the interviewer about how she manages the financial needs of GOH: "...Very often I do not know where the money will come from for the next month's salaries for the staff, I can only pray."

Besides practical needs such as providing for the staff's paychecks on time every month, the pastoral care provider needs to know how to discern that the disguised well-interwoven ideologies were for the interest of the power holders, and know what

⁸⁸ The chaplain of the GOH, in interview.

⁸⁹ This means to have "a back-scratching mentality" or the exchange of interest to each other. In terms of the transaction of the interest in a power relationship, please reference Harumi Befu, "Power in the Great White Tower: Contribution to Social Exchange Theory" in Raymond Fogelson, and Richard Adams (eds.), *The Anthropology of Power* (London and New York: Academic Press, 1977). In that article Befu has a very interesting analysis on how the interests are exchanged between the parties involved in a competition of power relationship for a medical college teaching post at a Japanese

a better alternative ideology is for the people so that they can replace it. Furthermore, they need to think ahead about other possible sources of funding if they do not want to scratch the power holder's back and if they want to continue providing power of resistance in the event that funding from the power holder is not possible.

Loving those girl prostitutes involves many things, e.g. when to stand firm to discipline them; when to listen to them; when to say "no" to them; when to insist that they are to follow the necessary regulations for living at the halfway house; when to encourage them to look forward and to keep hoping for a bright future; how to represent them and help them connect with the resources of the society while at the same time discerning if the self's use of power has deprived the subjectivities of those girls. All these things need wisdom and insight from the transcendent One as Chi mentioned in her article: "GOH based on the Spirit of Christ to do the following things in different stages for the powerless girls and women..."⁹⁰

In that article/e-message Chi made it very clear that, as it was in the beginning of the establishment, the Spirit of Jesus Christ is the foundation on which GOH stands and relies upon to do all its work in the society of Taiwan.

V-3.3.16. The ultimate goal of the pastoral care provider to provide the power of resistance in the power struggle of the recipients of care is to empower them to be able to resist the powers that oppress them.

The ultimate goal of the power struggles is to empower the girl prostitutes under their care to live independently as explored in chapter IV. Such a goal is based on GOH's faith tradition as described in Isa. 35:

Strengthen the feeble hands,
Steady the knees that give way;
Say to those with fearful hearts,
'Be strong, do not fear;
Your God will come...
He will come to save you.'⁹¹

society.

⁹⁰ Huei Jong Chi, "The Developmental Stages of the Garden of Hope", an e-message from the chief executive of GOH.

Many of the girls that GOH has ministered to at the halfway house do later get married and the house mothers on some occasions were invited to be the representatives of the bride's family. An occasion like that is one of the most joyful things for a house mother at the halfway house because it means that the girl prostitutes can finally have a normal married life (IV-3.8).⁹²

More specifically, empowering the girl prostitutes is a developmental issue. In the words of a counsellor of GOH:

The processes may be from crisis management to long term support and cover many areas such as addressing and resolving specific problems, developing personal insight and knowledge to judge the situations in life and then making decisions accordingly, coping with crises happening in life, working through feelings of inner conflict or improving relationships with others...⁹³

V-3.3.17. The power struggle that a pastoral care provider is involved in for the sake of the powerless is a constant one. Such a power struggle is dynamic and constant, never ending, only having developmental progress in caring for God's people.

Recovery is a dynamic process. Likewise, the process of caring and helping the recipients of care to resist all sorts of oppressive power is also dynamic and ongoing. It can never be final but is developmental. Developmental in the sense that the oppressed situation is changed into a better situation that is not yet the ideal one. As stated previously, the empowering of the girl prostitutes is a long term process and the goal of empowerment can only be achieved developmentally. In the process, there are many issues that GOH needs to deal with in the girls' power relationships and the results depend on how the girls receive GOH's help and how they react to GOH's disciplinary approach in the halfway house as explored in chapter IV (IV-3.1 to IV-3.11).

On the other hand, there are still many girl prostitutes in the society of Taiwan, including those who have lived in the halfway house of GOH. As long as there are girl

⁹¹ New International Version.

⁹² Shared by a house mother of GOH.

⁹³ These tasks in empowering the girls in the halfway home are also the major tasks to accomplish for their counseling the girls. Also reference *Guidelines for Staff Employed to Counsel in Hospital and Health Care Setting* (Warwickshire: Counselling in Medical Setting Division of the British Association for Counselling, 1995). (No specific author listed).

prostitutes needing help, or as long as there are reasons for the girls to be made prostitutes, the task of GOH will not end as a pastoral care provider to the girls in Taiwanese society.⁹⁴

V-3.3.18. The way of a pastoral care provider to deal with the power struggles for the sake of the cared ones is as Wink's perception of Jesus' third way of encountering with powers

We have explored in II-7.7 of how Wink perceives of Jesus' way of confronting the oppressing power. In accordance with Wink's phrase, "Expose the injustice of the system", GOH has exposed the loopholes of the governmental regulation. Furthermore, GOH has shamed the girl prostitute users by campaigning for 'not to use girl prostitutes' in the society of Taiwan, and has taken control of the power dynamic by using mass media for publicity and by successfully pressuring the government to amend the law so as to force the police to carry out their duties in relation to the oppressed girl prostitutes more seriously. All the above are just examples of how GOH has learned from what their Lord did as captured in Wink's poem.

⁹⁴ Chi's e-message, "The Developmental Stages of GOH's Work". In the later development of the GOH's work, they emphasize to deal with the causes for the girls' becoming prostitutes. Therefore they strive to transform things such as the wrong ideologies in Taiwan society and to emphasize the value of daughters in the family.

V-4. Conclusion: A Pastoral Theology: Pastoral Care as a Constant Struggle with Power

In this chapter we reiterate both the definition of a pastoral theology in the Third World context and the meaning of a pastoral theology as a branch of practical theology. From there we contended, based on what we have explored in the previous chapters, that a pastoral care provider in caring for people in the collective society basically needs to be constantly involved in the power struggles of the ones being cared for in the context of their power relationships.

According to the nature of pastoral theology in the Third World context, the practice of a pastoral theology needs to be specific and contextual. Therefore in order to make the above claim in the context of the Third World, we use the Garden of Hope, an institution that cares for the girl prostitutes in Taiwan as our case study. In chapter III and IV we have shown how GOH's care for the girl prostitutes is related to various issues of power and is also "pastoral" in the nature of its caring. Furthermore, drawing on the materials and findings that we have explored in chapters I, II, III and IV for this chapter, the following issues are apparent:

- (1) What the characteristics of this "power" in human relationships are, if we say that a pastoral care provider should get involved in the power struggles of the recipient of care.⁹⁵
- (2) What "struggle" means and also what it means to "struggle" with the powers that have the above characteristics. These are the powers that oppress the girl prostitutes or other people groups in a society.
- (3) The characteristics of these "power struggles" which are evident in a pastoral care provider's involvements for the sake of those being cared for.
- (4) Finally, that the pastoral care provider's power struggles for the recipients of care are constant and ongoing. It never ends; one success leads to the awareness of another goal to strive after.

Pastoral care is about caring for all God's people who live in various relationships with other people and even with their environment (I-1). From both literature surveys and case studies, we know that humans are under all sorts of intricate power relationships (II-1 onward). The characteristic of power is such that as power is exercised in various

human relationships, there is a tendency to abuse it. However, power relation is always reciprocal in that the oppressed ones can resist in various ways (V-3.2).

From our case study we have seen that a pastoral care provider needs to deal with the issue of powers. These powers objectify the cared ones in various forms and include governmentality (II-2), discipline of the cared ones (II-5 and IV-3.3), and healing of their past wounds (IV-3.3). Furthermore, a pastoral care provider needs to struggle to combat with the powers that make their targeted ones objects. These powers include the ideologies in the society (II-3) or the wrongly perceived self subjectivity that lead the girls to do the “supportive diplomatic sexual transaction” in the society of Taiwan (II-4).

A pastoral care provider intervenes into the cared ones’ power relationship as the third party. It utilizes all its power and it organizes different resources of power to help the cared ones to resist the powers that oppress them. We can see this from the chart that depicts the power relationship of the girl prostitutes in section IV-3.12. The intervention is part of the process of struggle. The power struggles that a pastoral care provider goes through have some characteristics that we have studied in V-3.3. Those power struggles that have the goal of providing care for the powerless are mainly against all forms of objectification of people. The purpose of those struggles is to bring changes into the cared ones’ oppressed situation. Therefore, what appears before us are the results of power struggles that the pastoral care provider have to go through such as the establishment of the half way home (IV-3.1), the change of the juridical regulation regarding the treatment of the girl prostitutes in Taiwan (III-4. and IV-3.1.). The example for the results of such power struggles can be seen from the second chart of the girl prostitutes’ power relationship. In that chart we can see that with the intervention of GOH as the care provider, the girl prostitutes can rely on GOH to resist the powers that had once oppressed them (V-3.12 the relationship chart).

In helping people to combat with the powers that oppress them, a pastoral care provider has to provide the power of resistance. There are three ways for doing so.

- (1) The first is to confront the oppressing power directly by the pastoral care provider. For example, GOH demanded Taiwanese government to amend the juvenile law to give a better treatment for the girl prostitutes (as we have discussed in III-4.1 and III-4.2).

⁹⁵ These characteristics are drawn from what we have discussed through chapter II, III, and IV.

- (2) The second is to empower the oppressed ones to resist the powers that oppress them on their own. For example, GOH provides half way home for the girl prostitutes so that they can be re-habituated in various ways. They are motivated to achieve different goals, such as going back to the school to re-gain their formal education, and seeking to know the transcendent God and building a relationship with Him. This type of provision for the power of resistance is described in Weber's term as reaching what they first thought to be "impossible for them" (V-3.3.1 and V-3.3.5). In Wrong's more concrete description, it is to mobilize them to resist their abused situation and to change the undesirable context. The ways to empower the powerless often need to start from very concrete and practical perspectives. Teaching ways to build a disciplined personal daily life and having group or individual counselling sessions are some such practical examples.
- (3) The third type of provision for the power of resistance is the organization of resources of power from their living circumstances or macro surroundings. Examples of such resources include the power of mass media, financial support from the public, and the enlightening of the public through advocating alternatives to the corruptive ideologies in society. GOH's campaign for "not to use girls as objects of commercial sexual transaction" (IV-3.7) is a case in point.

In providing three types of powers of resistance a pastoral care provider has become the third party in the power relationship of the cared ones and in their power struggles to resist their oppressed situations. This has also answered the questions we raised in the introduction of this thesis that challenges the church in the practice of their pastoral care: "How can the church, in a very broad sense, as a collective institution, help people, individual members in the church or, in general, people in society, to combat the power struggles they encounter?" "In what way can the church empower people to overcome the abusive powers over the individuals and to become what they are supposed to be in God's eye?" "Can the church as a caring institution help people with hurts in their power struggles to walk towards healing and wholeness as Jeffrey Means has indicated in his article, 'Mighty Prophet/ Wounded Healer'?"

...Coupled with messages clients bring us about hurtful and destructive aspects of our culture, these wounds also call us to become mighty prophets. In this role, we

are urged to move outside our normal practice contexts into the larger community, and to speak out against social forces that hurt and destroy the selves and souls of persons.⁹⁶

From our case study we have seen that GOH has used the resources it can find to empower the girls to resist the powers that oppress the powerless ones. Not only so, GOH has at the same time empowered those it cares for to resist the powers that may oppress them in the future. In fact the programs that GOH provides for the girls who live in the half way home are for the purpose of empowering them (IV-3.1 to IV-3.9).

Thus, whether it is from the perspective of challenging the domineering power directly, or from that of empowering the dominated ones to resist by themselves, the pastoral care giver has become a power resource to balance the existing asymmetrical power relationship in whatever field it exists.

Finally, issues of power also exist in a caring relationship. Even though GOH's caring activities has genuine pastoral characteristics such as being oriented to the future and adjustments according to the analysis of the living circumstances (IV-2), yet the care provider needs to constantly be cautious not to manipulate the ones under their care. Influence of power can be brought to bear through diverse means ranging from something as subtle as the tones of speaking, to the manipulation of some ideologies or even to physical violence. Therefore, in a caring relationship, allowing the cared ones to assert their subjective opinion is one of the major differences between a pastoral caring relationship and a domineering power relationship. GOH is cautious in how they care for the girl prostitutes in the three stages of the half way home. However, irrespective of what GOH has done or has not done, the point here is that even in a caring relationship, there are possibilities of power struggles between the one who cares and those under their care.

From the above explanation we can conclude this chapter by saying that *in the context of the third world a pastoral care provider's caring for those in need (such as the ministry of GOH) indeed constantly involves various power struggles, and those power struggles have specific characteristics*. We have examined in this chapter some of those characteristics (V-3) so that pastoral care practioners are able to learn from

⁹⁶ Jeffrey J. Means, "Mighty Prophet/Wounded Healer" in *Journal of Pastoral Care and Counseling*, vol. 56, no. 1, Spring, 2002, pp. 41-49, p. 41.

them in their future attempts to care for the ones in need in third world context. Furthermore, these findings will also need to be tested and modified in the global context as we have mentioned in I-3.4.3.

Conclusion

The purpose of this thesis has been to outline an approach to pastoral theology that responds to the contextual situation of Taiwan. Centred on the case study of the Garden of Hope, the thesis has identified power as singly the most critical factor that brings Taiwanese girls into prostitution, causing them to suffer mistreatment under the social and institutional systems that prevail in Taiwan. The thesis has shown that the power struggle is an essential element in the work of the GOH in rehabilitating the girls to become responsible persons, able to play a constructive role in Taiwanese society. Therefore, in developing a pastoral theology in this context, the thesis has argued that pastoral practice needs to engage issues of power, and that, in order to do so, it needs to combine sociological analysis and theological reflection. By applying this methodology to the pastoral challenge of the GOH ministry in Taiwan, the research confirms the hypothesis set out in the Introduction: that pastoral care, as evidenced in the case study of the Garden of Hope in Taiwan, needs to recognize the interaction of power issues and the provision of care, so that dehumanizing power can be unmasked and humanizing power directed in an effective provision of pastoral care.

Within this focus of analysis the main findings that have emerged from this thesis can be summarised under the following thirteen points.

I. Pastoral Care and Pastoral Theology

The thesis has followed Fabella's observation that pastoral theology comprises the two dimensions of theological reflection and practical caring activities, these two being in dynamic relationship with each other. Theology informs the direction of the pastoral service, and the experience of pastoral service reshapes theology in a process of mutual correction and enrichment. The thesis has confirmed Fabella's principle that pastoral theology should always be contextualized and situational, determined by the agent who provides the care and one who receives it.

II. Pastoral Care and Issues of Power

Applying the methodological principle that pastoral theology develops theological reflection in the context of sociological analysis, the thesis examined the question, “What is power and how is it understood sociologically?” From our exploration of the various definitions of power (II-1) and its characteristics in pastoral care (V-3.2.1.-V-3.2.12.), we argued that power functions positively for the common good or negatively in ways that oppress human beings. The agencies of power that have been examined in this thesis are mainly institutional and individual human relationships. The kinds of power that they exercise are spiritual, material and psychological. Central to our understanding of pastoral care is resistance of negative forms and expressions of power. As the case study has shown, those who are powerless cannot make claims for themselves, and their wills are often subverted. To provide pastoral care for the powerless requires the care provider to intervene into those systems of power that oppress the powerless, and to resist abusive power on their behalf.

The research has shown that, in the context of Taiwan, the primary domain in which power functions is governmentality of its various forms – i.e. the power that is exercised by government, companies, schools and the classroom. Behind such exercise of power lie the ideologies that operate within society, moulding the subjectivity of its members, giving them criteria for evaluating the deviant, sanctioning systems of punishment and reward, and treating women as objects (II-1 to II-6). By exploring how these types of power function in Taiwanese public life, and reflecting on them in the Biblical tradition (II-7), this thesis has drawn from its analysis of the Garden of Hope a new way of addressing issues of power in relation to the marginalized girl prostitutes’ relationship of life in the collective society of Taiwan. It has suggested how it is possible, in the words of Dyson, “to wrest pastoral theology from servitude to alien norms, and venture new forms of expression and practice”.¹

¹ Regarding the discussion of Dyson’s “a new form of expression”, please reference, Li, M. Th. dissertation, “The Development of Pastoral Theology in Western context” and section I-2 in this thesis.

III. Contextualized Issues of Power in Taiwan

The task of “wresting pastoral theology from servitude to alien norms” has been central to the development of the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan in the last decades of the 20th century (I-3 and II-5). On the basis of its penetrating analysis of Taiwan society and the reinterpretation of its Biblical faith in ways that address contemporary Taiwanese issues, with the purpose of glorifying God, the PCT has claimed for Taiwanese the right of self-determination for the future of their country (I-3 and V-3.3.11 &12).

In sociological perspective we have likened this to Weber’s concept of charismatic leaders who exercise power in ways that challenge the dominant forms of governmentality in the broadest sense for all kinds of power that operate in the public sphere of society. Such charismatic leaders and those that follow them may be considered as deviants by the rest of society, and may be punished (in implicit or explicit ways) by those who exercise power according to the inherited norms of society (I-3 and II-5). But it is eventually they, the charismatic leaders, who affect social change (II-2 and V-3.3.11). In Weber’s view, such social deviants in fact assert their own subjective perception of what they perceive society “should do” or “wants to do.”

It was such prophetic quality that marked some of the Presbyterian pastors who were willing to resist and violate accepted norms of society, at the risk of being put into jail, in order to bring about social change (I-3.3). In similar manner, this thesis has argued, other issues in the contemporary Taiwan society call for radical and prophetic attention, the most controversial of which relate to human sexuality: for example, the issue of co-habitation before marriage, the rights of homosexuals; young people’s involvement in “diplomatic supportive sexual transaction” (commercial sexual transaction) (II-3, II-4, II-6 and III-3.6). Things that once were criticised and often hidden in secret have now become very open in Taiwanese society, and traditional social sanctions have loosened. The young generation, including the girls, are not so much bound by social norms as were their parents (III-3.6).

It is in this context that the thesis has set the analysis of growing phenomenon of girl prostitution in Taiwan. The Garden of Hope has been critically analysed

and assessed in terms of charismatic leadership that has the capacity of resisting and changing social customs and conventions that mask the abuse of power.

IV. Pastoral Care Providers' Power Struggle in the Society of Taiwan

The thesis has argued that wherever there is abuse of power, there can also be the resistance of such abuse. At times, the effect of the resistance may not be very significant (II-5 and V-2). However, it is such an open possibility of resistance that make the pastoral care provider's intervention possible in situations of abusive power (Ch. III and IV). In other words, in any case of abusive power, there will be opportunities of intervention for the pastoral care providers.

We have illustrated how the pastoral care provider can provide power of resistance in an oppressing situation by looking at the story of the PCT (I-3 and II-5) based on their pastoral theology, "Let all the Glory be to God." The PCT resisted the domineering power of the ruling party, KMP, despite being deemed deviant. The PCT was willing to be punished by the government for proclaiming its vision of the future of Taiwan (I-3.4).

In similar fashion, the pastoral care providers' in the Garden of Hope struggle with abusive powers for the sake of the rehabilitation of the girl prostitutes who come within its care. Our case study has shown how the GOH engages intensively with its clients' situation to resist the powers that oppress or objectify them (Ch. III-4.1 to III-4.9 and IV-3.1 to IV-3.9). Such an involvement is a long-term process of struggle; success does not come quickly, for it entails a change in social attitudes that sanction the oppressive exercise of power in the public arena that causes the girls to turn to prostitution in the first place.

V. The Pastoral Care Provider's Power Struggle for the Cared Ones are Contextual, Pastoral, and Future Oriented in its Nature

From the examination of the Garden of Hope the thesis has extrapolated three principles that should govern a prophetic exercise of power that challenges

abusive oppression: it needs to be pastoral, contextual and constant in nature (V-3.3.1-V-3.3.16).

It has been shown that the GOH's caring activities are "pastoral" because they are based on the integration of theological reflection and sociological analysis. The initial motivation for the establishment of the GOH is the belief that God commands us to "act justly and to love mercy" (Micah 6:6, NIV). Despite all the difficulties in following this command, "the Lord's Zeal will accomplish these things" (V-2 and V-3). This thesis has argued from the perspective of sociological studies to show that radical sociological analysis is consistent with the reflection from the tradition of faith. However, this is only one side of pastoral theology; it also needs to bring into people's life God's presence through the caring activities of the pastoral care provider. It is through this that God's word can become contextually transforming and empowers the people who are under the care.

The nature of the power struggle is contextual. Contextuality here entails taking the care providers, the care receivers, and the oppressive situation as the substantive base of pastoral theology. It is this that ensures that theological reflection is thoroughly informed by the social context. (V-2). For instance, dealing with the issues of power in the pastoral caring activities of GOH means in concrete and specific terms securing a living place for the girl prostitutes so that they can live as an ordinary family and enjoy family fun. GOH also supplies their daily bread; it provides them individual and group counselling; it helps them to go back to the school; it exposes them to various cultural events; it designs programmes for them to overcome their past wounded memories; it instils discipline and sets a new lifestyle for them (III-4.1 to III-4. 9 and IV-3.1 to IV-3.10). The purpose of GOH in all these areas is that, through all these resources they provide for the girls, the girls can be empowered to walk toward a brighter future. Therefore GOH's pastoral caring activities are also future oriented, rooted in their life situations (V-1).

VI. The Pastoral Care Providers' Power Struggle is to Provide Power of Resistance to Resist the Power that Intended to Objectify the Cared Ones

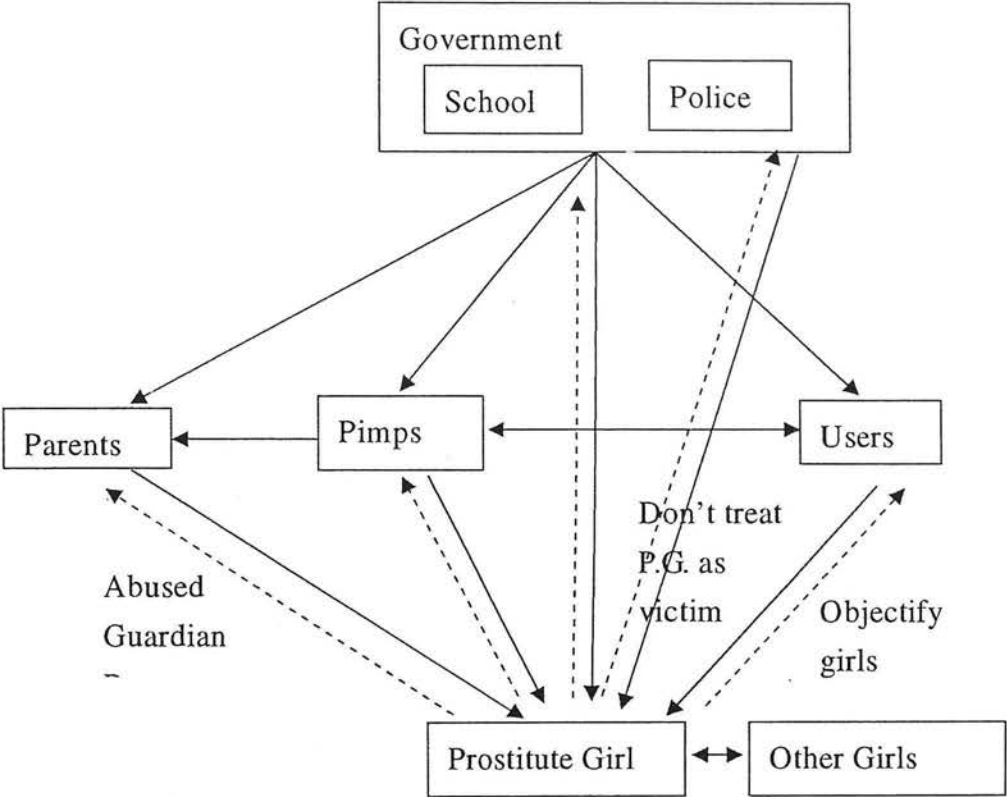
A pastoral care provider struggles to provide the power of resistance. It means

that wherever there is any kind of objectification, they need to assert the subjectivity and self awareness of “the being powered.” Wherever there are falsely formed ideologies in governmentality, the care provider has to unmask them. Wherever the clients are viewed as deviants, the care provider will re-examine the norms to see for how the deviants are named and how disciplinary punishments are imposed (II-5.5). Such resistance involves three modalities: (1) confronting the oppressor directly; (2) empowering the oppressed to resist the powers that oppress them; and (3) changing the ideologies of the society so that the public can become a source of power of resistance against oppressive power.

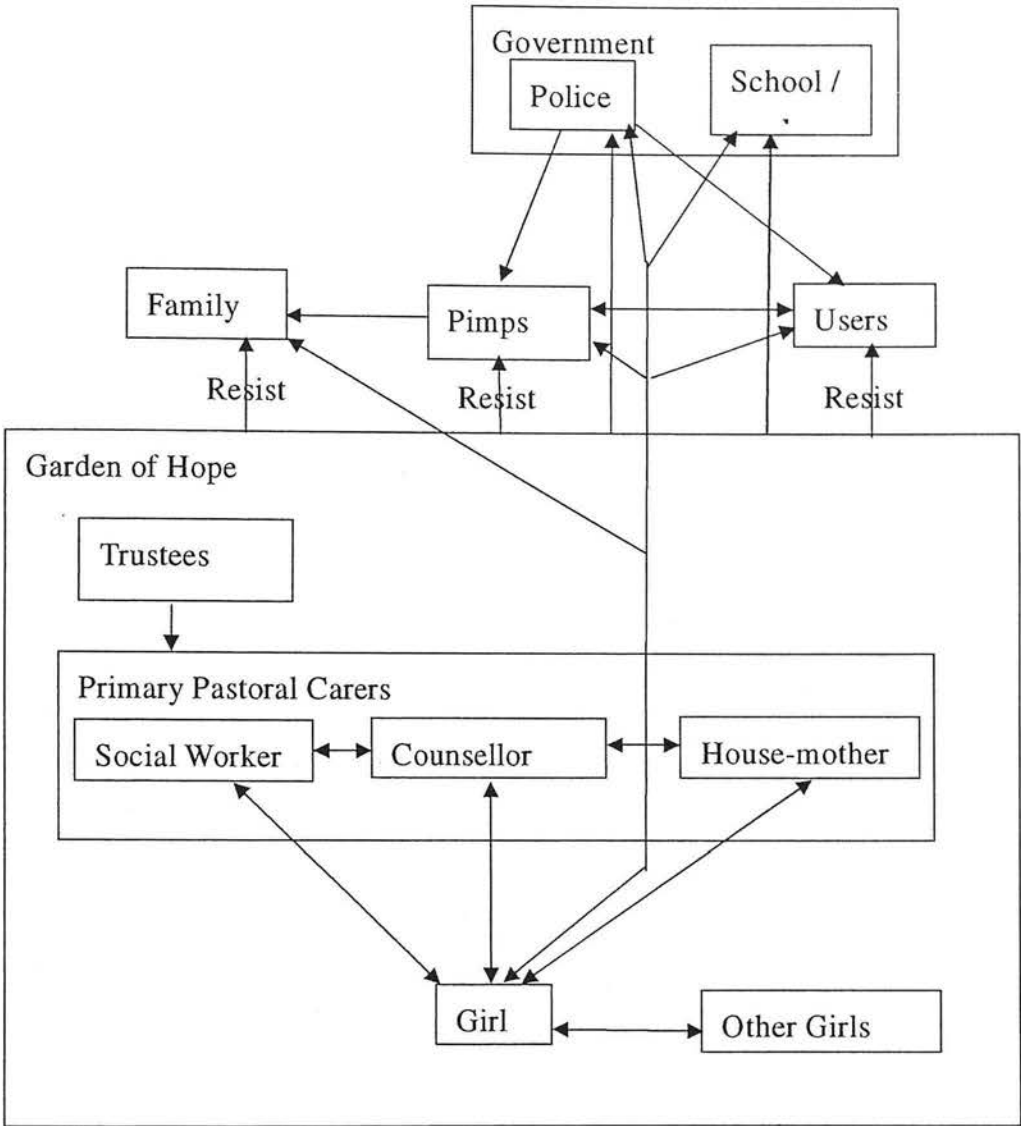
VII. The Pastoral Care Provider Functions as *the Third Party* to Intervene into the Power Struggles of the Cared Ones.

Before the powerless can be empowered to resist the oppressing powers, it is important that the pastoral care provider intervenes as a third party to resist the oppressing power. In this process of intervention, they need to use all the powers that they can organize and provide, such as the power of the mass media, and the financial resources both from governmental fund and the voluntary sector (IV-3.1. to IV-3.10.). The change that such intervention can bring into an oppressed power relationship has been demonstrated in schematic outline in Chapter Five. In conclusion we reproduce the schemes in order to illustrate the differences between the girls’ power relationships before and after their admission to the GOH half way home.

Power Struggle relationships in life as a prostitute (Ch. III)



Quitting Prostitution while living in Halfway home (Ch. IV)



Points VI and VII can be further illustrated from the above two diagrams of the girl prostitutes' power relationship. The first diagram illustrates the power relationship that exists between the girls and the agents of governmentality in the police, their parents, the pimps and the users. The solid line indicates the direction of oppressive power that the girls are powerless to resist. The dotted line indicates where resistance is needed, although the girls have little ability to move in this direction without some external help. The second diagram illustrates the change that occurs in power relationships

once the girls are under the care of the Garden of Hope. In the first instance the GOH intervenes to exercise a power of resistance against the agents of governmentality on behalf of the girls. At the same time the GOH develops a reciprocal power relationship with the girls, by empowering them to stand up for themselves, against the agents of governmentality, but also against the GOH agents – social workers, counsellors and house-mothers – as this may be necessary for their own subjectivity. This includes their ability to relate with other girls, their peer group, with symmetry.

VIII. It is Important for the Pastoral Care Provider to Take the Cared Ones' Will into Account

As power tends to be abused, even in a supposedly loving and caring pastoral relationship, the pastoral care provider needs to respect the cared ones' will. Otherwise, their caring could become a domineering type (V-3.3.6). Even though in contemporary Taiwan, the individual's asserting the self's subjectivity has ironically made them give less tolerance of others' different opinions and less compliance with various perspectives on working or living together. It is also more difficult to discipline the deviant according to the set norms of the community. But it is important for the disciplinary entity to take the cared ones' will into account regarding issues relating to the individual's life.

IX. GOH Has Presented Themselves in the Society of Taiwan as a Powerful Local Community to Balance the Domineering Powers in the Society

The work of GOH for their clients in the society of Taiwan has made GOH an effective institution in resisting dominant power.² The GOH provides its clients with power to resist other oppressing powers. For example, it pushed the Taiwanese government to make amendments to the regulations so as to provide a better treatment of the prostituted girls.

X. The Work of GOH Has Presented to Taiwanese Society a Genuine Christian Way of Caring with Power in their Society

² This is congruent with Tannenbaum's expectation for a local community to be a powerful organization to balance any domineering power in their community. Frank Tannenbaum, *The Balance of Power in Society*, p. xii. We have already examined this book in our Introduction.

The thesis has argued that GOH show the people of Taiwan how Christians can respond to the problems of power in what Professor Forrester terms an “authentic Christian way.” As Professor Forrester argues, this means to care with power. In the past the Church has been criticized for not taking initiative in response to issues of power either within society or the Church.³ In response to such a criticism Professor Forrester argues that the Church must combine power with care so that pastoral care can have a “liberating effect.” Through that liberating effect we can show to people in society how Christians can respond to the needs of people and society in an “authentic Christian way”.⁴

Through our explorations of the GOH’s caring activities for their clients we can say that GOH has met Professor Forrester’s criteria. It provides care in a genuine Christian way - to care with power. It has organised the resources of power they can have to supply the girl prostitutes’ needs. While the girl prostitutes are still hindered by their past wounds from becoming what God intends them to be (IV-2), GOH tries to rehabilitate them by through the various activities and programmes that they provide at the halfway home (IV-3.1 to IV-3.10). In their caring for the girls, GOH also gives space for the cared ones’ subjective decision making, instead of submitting to the power of those who exploit them (III-4.7. and IV-3.1 to IV-3.9). GOH proposes alternative ideologies for raising the status of women and girls in Taiwan society. In this it has gathered the support from the powerful public mass media to resist the oppressive relationships that trap girl prostitutes (III-2.7. and III-4.9.2). In brief, GOH organises the power of resistance to resist all forms of oppressive power. They achieve the “liberating effect” that Forrester has challenged the church to do in the society.⁵

XI. For a Pastoral Care Provider such as the GOH, the Ultimate Provider of the Power of Resistance is God and the Way to deals with the Power Struggles for the Sake of the Cared Ones Corresponds to Jesus’ Third Way as Described by Wink

For the pastoral care provider such as the GOH, the ultimate source of the power of

³ Duncan Forrester, (ed.), *Truthful Action* (Edinburgh: T& T Clark, 2000), p. 79.

⁴ Ibid., p. 79.

⁵ There are also failure cases, as we explicate in III-3.10. The life at the half way home of the GOH is not domineering; it allows personal subjective choice, therefore it is not very difficult to leave before they can be changed, if they should choose to do so.

resistance is God.⁶ However, the way in which the GOH struggles with the powers for their clients' sake is epitomises Wink's description of Jesus' third way of non-violent resistance (see II-7.7). Namely, the GOH's caring activities for their clients are non-violent alternative against the operation of the oppressors' oppressive powers. The GOH refuse to accept the girl prostitutes' inferior status in Taiwan. They expose the injustice treatment of the girls and make effort to break the vicious cycle of humiliation of the girl prostitutes. They recognize the resources of their own power and take concrete actions to intervene into the dynamics of the power relationship of the girl prostitutes. Through their effort and endurance, the power holders are forced to make decisions for which they are not prepared. After our case study of the GOH's ministry, we can have a better understanding for what Wink's description really means in pastoral caring practice.⁷

XII The Pastoral Care Provider's Power Struggles for the Cared Ones is a Constant One

The struggle of the GOH against the powers that abuse girl prostitutes does not end with the halfway homes, but continues as it challenges and gradually changes the public ideologies that force the girls into a disadvantaged status.

There are stages in bringing a change into an undesired situation/circumstance of oppressing power relationships (V-3.3.1 and V.3.3.11). A pastoral care provider who struggles with the powers for the cared ones also needs to go through some stages. GOH has learned from their practise that the rehabilitation of the girls needs to go through different stages. GOH recognizes that the process cannot be achieved in one day. It is a long term journey, and GOH walks along with the girls step by step toward their recovery. This is why they set three types of half way home for the girls who are in their different stages of recovery from their past wounds (IV-3.3 to IV-3.5.). The struggle with powers is a long term journey and needs constant effort (V-3.3.16). Such a constant power struggle is as Fabella says:

“...to stress local and situational concerns, to take into account contemporary phenomena, such as the struggles for justice and the

⁶ See II-7.7.

⁷ See Walter Wink's poem we quoted in II-7.7. Walter Wink, “Jesus' Third Way: Nonviolent Engagement” in *Engaging the Powers* (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1992), 175-193, p. 186-187.

changes wrought by modernization, while at the same time drawing basic power from the gospel which is for all the people”⁸

XIII. The Pastoral Theology of “Pastoral Care as a Constant Power Struggle” in the Context of Taiwan Has been Examined in both of its Theological Perspective and Caring Activities through the Case Study of Garden of Hope in Taiwan

The thesis shows that it is through sociological analysis of the powers that oppress girl prostitutes in Taiwan that GOH reflects on its Christian faith tradition, and that has provided innovative Christian pastoral caring activities that rehabilitate the girls, empowering them to resist the abusive power that oppressed them, and challenging social conventions that tolerate such abuse so that the public are conscientised into supporting social change in Taiwan.

The Garden of Hope is therefore presented in this thesis in the context of an approach to pastoral theology that furthers the innovative steps that have been taken by the Presbyterian Church of Taiwan at the macro-level of national society by tackling the issue of powers that abuse one of the most powerless and marginalised groups in Taiwan, namely the girl prostitutes. On the basis of this particular case study of the Garden of Hope, we feel that it is justified to draw a general conclusion about the nature of contextual pastoral theology in Taiwan:

In the context of Taiwan, pastoral care constantly involves struggles with oppressive powers that inflict the recipients of care. In this struggle with power the pastoral care provider intervenes as a third party on behalf of the recipients, firstly to resist directly whatever forms of power objectify the care recipients, and secondly to empower the care recipients to resist oppressive power themselves. A pastoral care provider must therefore be aware that caring for people in the collective domain entails a constant power struggle, and that the struggle with power therefore becomes an essential ingredient in an authentically Christian theology of pastoral care.

This research have been conducted in the context of Taiwan and through one case study; the case of the Garden of Hope in Taiwan. The conclusion we get

⁸ Fabella, “Contextualization”, in *Dictionary of the Third World Theology*, pp. 62-63.

from this research, such as the characteristics of the pastoral care providers, power struggles for the cared ones needs further testing by other researchers through the case studies from other contexts.

Appendix I

The Premise, Structure and Logical Reasoning of the Thesis

Topic of the Thesis:

Pastoral Care as a Constant Power Struggle: A Case Study – Garden of Hope in Taiwan

A Description of the Thesis:

We present a pastoral theology where the pastoral care provider's caring for the needy in the collective domain involve the power struggles that the persons under their care face in their various relationships; power struggles in the sense that the care provider intervenes as a third party in the cared ones' oppressed situation to provide power of resistance to help the oppressed ones to resist the oppressive powers in their various relationships. This is a form of Christian care as commissioned by the Lord and the Christian tradition.

Premise I:

(Chapter I Pastoral Theology and Pastoral Care: Definition, History and Methodology)

In this context, Pastoral Theology needs to have two perspectives: theological reflection based on the tradition of the faith and the reflection of such activities of care in the setting of the Third World.

Logical Reasoning:

Following Fabella's definition in *The Dictionary of the Third World Theology*, it involves two perspectives, (1) theological reflection that is based on the tradition of the faith and (2) the pastoral care providers' caring activities. A pastoral theology needs to address these two perspectives.

Outcome:
(1) Theological Reflection:

(a) We set this thesis within the limit of sociological study. We start from sociological study on the theories of power: its definition and some main themes in human relationship.

(b) From that exploration, we give a brief comparison with power issues in the Bible. We show that, even though we start from sociological perspective, we are also based on the tradition of Christian faith.

(2) Caring activities:

Since caring activities can be varied depending on the needs of the subjects that are under the care, we need to target on specific subjects. This leads to the need of a case study. We use the stories of the PCT to illustrate what pastoral caring activities under a specific pastoral theology means. This leads to our case study of this thesis: the girl prostitutes and the institution of Garden of Hope (GOH), a Christian institution that specializes in caring for the prostituted girls in Taiwan.

Premise II.

(Chapter II. Power: Some Major Themes in the Sociological Study of Power--- Literature Survey, Applications in the Context of Taiwan and Interaction with the Biblical Tradition)

The theological reflection can start from sociological findings. The exploration of the definitions and major themes of power according to sociological studies can be contextualized in the life context of Taiwan and correlated to biblical teaching. Therefore, our exploration from sociological perspective also has its foundation in the tradition of Christian faith.

Logical reasoning:

- (1) After exploring various definitions of power in sociological study, we adopt Martin Percy's very inclusive definition: power involves various perspectives in human relationships and can be many things; power can be involved even in body gesture and tone of speech.
- (2) From a literature survey of sociological studies we discover that (a) governmentality, (b) Ideologies (c) subjectivity and the individual's search for the personal freedom, (d) conflict, resistance and the punishment for the deviant, and (e) women are the main themes often seen in human power relationship and hence often discussed in the sociological study of power.
- (3) We examine the context of Taiwan to see whether these themes are also prevailing in the life of Taiwanese.
- (4) We examine the life context of people in Biblical tradition and we show that people in Biblical time are no exceptions to struggling with those power issues.

Outcome:

(A)
The research questions answered under this premise are:

Power:

- (1) What is it in sociological study?
- (2) What are the main themes that can be seen in human relationship
- (3) How these themes are relevant to the lives of both Taiwanese and people in the Bible.

(B)

The perspective of the theological reflection of the pastoral theology that we propose in this thesis is established.

Premise III:**(Ch. III. Case study of Garden of Hope (I)—The Prostituted Girls)**

The caring activities are based on a specific pastoral theology that depends on who are under the care and who provide the care.

Logical Reasoning:

Different people have different needs and are in different power relationships. Therefore, the kind of caring activities the pastoral care provider needs to provide varies across different clients. In this thesis, we target the prostituted girls as the clients to be cared for. Our targeted pastoral care provider is the institution of the Garden of Hope.

Outcome:

We answer these research questions: “What power relationships are the prostituted girls involved in?” “What do the governmental laws in Taiwan say regarding girl prostitution?” “What is it like for these girls to be under their power relationships?” “What can the pastoral care provider do for them?”

Premise IV:**(Ch. IV. Case Study of Garden of Hope (II)—In the Half Way Home)**

In the processes of providing the care, the pastoral care provider has its own issues of power to be taken care of. In the loving and kind pastoral caring relationship the pastoral care provider also needs to be cautious not to abuse its power.

Logical Reasoning:

Since power is everywhere in human relationship (the findings in Chapter II), the institution that provides pastoral care is not excepted from the need to engage with issues of power.

Outcome:

The research questions answered in this section are: “What kind of caring activities does the pastoral care provider propose to the girls live in the half way home?” “What can be the issues of power for a pastoral care provider (an institution in our case study) in the processes of providing caring activities?” “What kind of power relationship may the care provider and the cared be involved in?” and “How can the care provider deal with the issues of power involved?”

Premise V:**(A Pastoral theology: Pastoral Care as a Constant Power Struggle)**

Pastoral care is a constant power struggle in the sense that a pastoral care provider, based on their theological reflection, provides caring activities for a specific cared group in order to help them needs to resist the oppressive powers that are over them.

Outcome:**(A)**

1. There are two perspectives of this pastoral theology. The first kind of theological reflection is drawn from a sociological perspective, while also basing itself on the tradition of Christian faith. The second kind of theological reflection comes from putting reflections into practice, namely, in caring for the people.
2. It is a dynamic process because it depends on “who” provides the care, “whom” are cared for, “what” are the power relationships they cared in, and “how” the care provider reacts to their power relationships.
3. It is a “power” struggle in the sense that the care provider needs to help the cared to resist the all oppressive powers (for example: governmental law, the abused patriarchal authority). The pastoral care provider’s power struggle is pastoral, contextual and constant in its nature.
4. It is a “constant” struggle as human beings are perpetually in power relationships some of which have negative effects and need to be resisted (Ch. II). The caring activities of a care provider will “always” be needed, if they are going to help the oppressed ones to resist their oppressive situations.

(B)

The pastoral theology we propose for this thesis is established.

Appendix II

The Statement of the Girls When Leave the Halfway Home of the Garden of Hope

I _____ from Year of _____, Month _____, Day _____, Live into the House, appreciate the care provided by the workers of GOH during the period of living in the house> Now I after sincere consideration and have discussed with the workers of GOH, have decided to leave the house, on the Year _____, Month _____, day, to move out of the house. From now on I will be responsible for my own behaviours. I also grantee that

1. I won't let people know the address, telephone number and all the related information to assure the security of the girls who live in there
2. If I intend to visit the house at some other days, I need to contact the workers of GOH and get the permission, I cannot go directly without giving them the advanced notification.
3. I will keep in touch with the workers of GOH regularly by using the office of GOH as the contacting point.

To the Midway Home of GOH

Contractor:

Social security number:

Guardian:

Social security number:

Address:

Telephone:

Signature: _____

Year _____, Month _____, Day _____

Appendix III

The list of interviewed persons (names are omitted on purpose for the sake of security)

1. One of the Founders of GOH, p. 115, 141, 154, 157, 158, 159, 160, 186, 187, and other places in the thesis)
2. Consultant of Counselling Department, p. 145, 146, 147, 191, 193, 211, 229. The first chair person of the Board of Trustee, p.114, 115, 160, 171, 204.
3. The chair person of the board of trustee in the year interviewing, 2003
4. Chief General Executive of GOH, p. 173, 174, 226, 241, 283, 286, 293, 295, 297.
5. Vice General Executive of GOH, p. 225.
6. Vice General Executive of GOH and the Dean of Kaohsiung Branch, p. 225
7. Chaplain, p. 119, 120, 170, 176, 205, 217, 224, 226, 228, 290 and other places
8. General Secretary, p. 116
9. The receptionist of Headquarter in Taipei
10. Executive of the Department of Development, p. 183, 196, 199, 210, 222, 225, 226.
11. Previous Executive/Dean of Halfway Home, p. 202, 219, 220, 229.
12. Administrative worker of the Department of Development
13. Executive of the Department of Resources, p. 224
14. The Consultant for Finance of Department of Resources, p. 224, 290.
15. Executive of the Department of Service for the Youth
16. Executive of the Department of Counselling, p. 194, 205, 206, 233.
17. Counsellor I (Taipei), p. 144, 209
18. Counsellor II (Taipei), p. 172, 208, 222
19. Executive/Dean of Social Work, p. 118, 141.
20. Social workers I (Taipei headquarter) (this worker's is not about the girls in the halfway home)
21. Social Worker II (Taipei headquarter), p. 200-202
22. Social worker III, p.140, 144, 219.
23. House mother I, p. 119, 195, 207, 213, 215, 216, 218, 219, 221.

Long San Station of Service for Women

24. Executive of Long San Station of Service for Women

Wen San Station of Service for Women and Family

- 25. Executive of Wen San work station, Taipei.
- 26. Executive of Lan Hsin Family Garden

Taichung Branch

- 27. Executive of Taichung Branch
- 28. Social worker I (Taichung Branch), p. 163.
- 29. Social worker II (Taichung Branch)

Kaohsiung Branch

- 30. Executive of Kaohsiung branch
- 31. Supervisor of Social Workers (Kaohsiung), p. 169.
- 32. Social Worker I (Kaohsiung), p. 169, 171.
- 33. House Mother (Kaohsiung), p. 193, 208, 231, 236, 292.

Ping Tong Branch

- 34. Executive/Worker of Ping Tong Branch

Girls at Halfway Home of GOH

- 35. The girl I, p. 148.
- 36. The girl II, p. 202.
- 37. The girl III, p. 221.
- 38. The girl IV, p. 234.
- 39. The girl V (one case is from domestic violent family under the protection of government, she is not a girl prostitute).
- 40. The girl VI-IX (The girl VI-VIII have the similar stories such as “from middle class family, out of their own subjective perception, or through friends’ introduce to do the commercial sexual transaction voluntarily”). (Our information regarding the girl prostitutes in the thesis includes girls who lived in the halfway home in the past, for these girls’ information we categorized them into “the archaic collection of the GOH”, see below).

From Other Social Welfare Organizations in Taipei

- 41. General Executive of “Good Friend Mission” (Chen Chi Kao)
- 42. The previous chair person of the board of trustee of Eden Foundation, Prof. Bin Der Hwang (He is the keynote speaker for the annual training conference for the staff of the GOH that I participate, too).

Others translated from archaic collections published by the GOH

- 43. Angie Golman, p. 198, 204, 230-234.

44. Hai Yung Chhi, p. 136, 144, 156, 160, 161.
45. Hsiung Hsiung Bai, p. 145.
46. Chhing Fong Wang, p. 159.
47. Cher Chhung Li, p. 160.
48. In Chern Chen, p. 170.
49. Jenny (a girl prostitute who lived in the halfway home of the GOH in the year before I do the interview at the GOH), p. 150.
50. Hsiu-Laing Mo (see above description), p. 151.
51. Nan Chou Su, p. 135.
52. Ingrid Liao, p. 163.
53. Yu Siane Lin, p. 165.
54. Pictures, p. 166, 167, 168, 175, 177, 212, 214, 217, 226.
55. Chhong Wen Ho, p. 172.
56. Chin Min Chou, p. 189.
57. Su Mei Chern, p. 190.
58. One client of the GOH, p. 191.
59. Yu Fang Laing, p. 192, 227.
60. Mother Li, p. 192, 227.

Another section of interviewed and archaic materials in Chapter One we omit here. For it is done in the year of probation doing research for M Th. Dissertation of which the materials is allowed to cooperate into this thesis.

Appendix IV

Books Published by GOH and End Child Prostitution Association in Taiwan

- Wang-Huei, Liang Wang, (ed.), *Give Her a Piece of Land to Grow*. Grace Kuo & Hardinm C. Liu, (trans.), (Taipei, Taiwan: End Child Prostitution Association Taiwan, 1996). (English version)
- Wang-Huei, Liang Wang, (ed.), *給她一片成長的土地* (*Give Her a Piece of Land to Grow*), (Taipei, Taiwan: End Child Prostitution Association Taiwan, 1996). (Chinese Version)
- Chan, Min Chin and Chuang, Su Fang, (eds.), *美麗馨世界* (*The Beautiful World of the Garden of Hope: Journal of Working at the Halfway Home of GOH*) (Taipei: GOH, 2002).
- Hsui, Yia Chin, (ed.), *勵馨園期刊* (*Journal of Garden of Hope*) (Taipei: GOH, 1992).
- Hsui, Yia Chin, (ed.), *薪火相傳，勇敢前行* (*Passing On the Fire and Walking Courageously Forward*) (Taipei: GOH, 2003).
- Garden of Hope, (ed.), *雛妓防治問題面面觀* (*Facets of the Prevention and Treatment of the Girl Prostitutes in Taiwan*) (GOH: Taiwan, 1993).
- Hsui, Yia Chin & Chan, Yi Sh, (eds.), *台灣NGO 立法行動* (*The Taiwan NGO's Actions for the Legislation*) (Taipei, Taiwan: GOH and End Child Prostitution Association Taiwan, 2002).
- Hsui, Yia Chin, (ed.), *記得月亮活下來* (*Remember the Moon has Survived*) (Taipei, Taiwan: GOH, 1998).
- Hsiu, Yia Chin, (ed.), *風傳葛的夏天: 少女啓示錄* (*The Summer of Fong Chhung Ger: The Revelation of the Girls*) (Taipei, Taiwan: GOH, 2002).

- **The above books are only available in Chinese with the exception of *Give Her a Piece of Land to Grow*. The cited quotations in the thesis from the articles collected in these books have been translated by the author for the purpose of this thesis. In the footnotes of the chapters only the English translations of the titles are cited.**
- **As for the individual articles cited from these books, please see the bibliography after this section."**

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